

THE ACCULTURATION OF THE EASTERN CHEROKEE

by

Leonard Bloom

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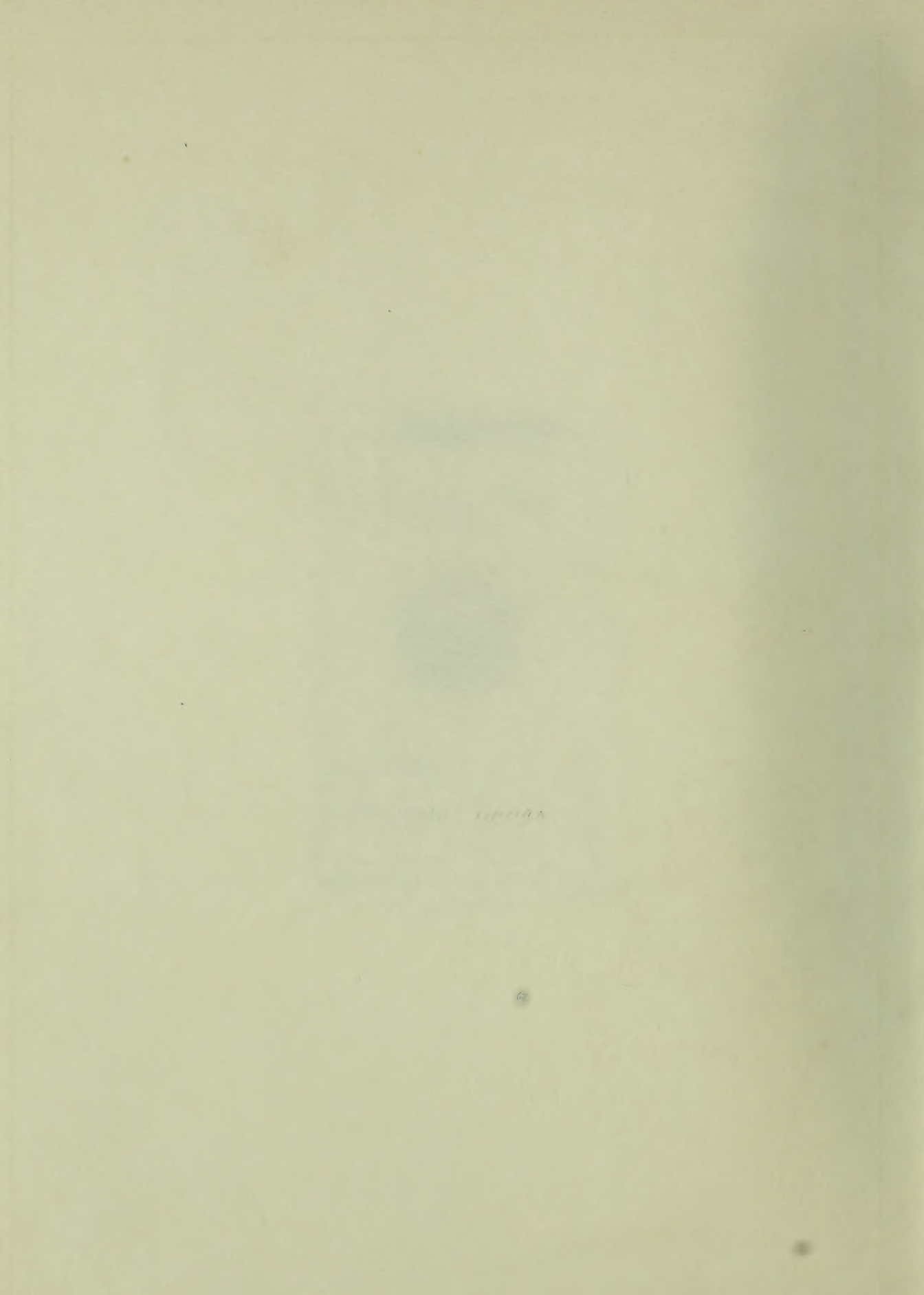
*Approved
April 29, 1987
Charles B. Bellwood
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Donald K. Adams*

ADVISORY

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School
of Arts and Sciences
of
Duke University

1987



1937.5
Ph.D.

THE ACCULTURATION OF THE EASTERN CHEROKEE

"Anthropology like charity should begin at home...."

8 AP'58

...Aldous Huxley by Beyond the Mexican Bay

The author has legally
changed his name to
Leonard Broom

Leonard Bloom

"There is in Indian history something very melancholy,
and which seems to establish a mournful precedent for
the future of the white sons of the forest...."

Approved
April 23, 1937
Charles H. Bellwood
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Donald K Adams

...Audinot, an Address (by a Cherokee
to the Whites. Philadelphia, 1826

"What if the redskins perish! Shall the
whites perish! Never."

...Chief in H. R. Schoolcraft,
p.169. 1847

"The people still play their ancient rites
and sacred play

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Hill Town, and Bird Town who gave so freely of their friend-

"There is in Indian history something very melancholy, sure
and which seems to establish a mournful precedent for
the future events of the few sons of the forest...."

Qualla. Phil. --Elias Boudinot, An Address (by a Cherokee
Indian) to the Whites. Philadelphia, 1826

informants are guilty of the same ethnological manners.
However, for the benefit of scholars who might wish to engage

"What! Shall the Cherokees perish! Shall the
conquerors of the Shawnees perish! Never."

For directions to the original sources of scholarly aids
I am indebted --An Ancient Chief in H. R. Schoolcraft,
Notes on the Iroquois. p.160. 1847

Charles A. Ellwood, and to Professor Edward E. Jenness and
Assistant Professor Edgar A. Thompson. I am similarly

"The old people still cling to their ancient rites
and sacred traditions, but the dance and ball play
wither and the Indian day is nearly spent."

Research. --James Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee.
p.181. 1900

To Dr. Harold M. Focht, Superintendent of the reservation.
I am grateful for innumerable services and insights, and to
Dr. and Mrs. Focht for a cordial relationship which lightened
and enlightened six months in the field during the summer of

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"Anthropology like charity should begin at home...."
--Albion Huxley, Beyond the Mexican Bay

"There is in Indian history something very melancholy,
and which seems to establish a mournful precedent for
the future events of the few sons of the forest...."
--Ellis Bourdier, An Address (by a Cherokee
Indian) to the Whites, Philadelphia, 1820

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p. 181, 1900

Acknowledgments

In making acknowledgments for debts which I would not repudiate and cannot discharge, I should first thank the residents of Big Cove Town, Wolf Town, Paint Town, Yellow Hill Town, and Bird Town who gave so freely of their friendship and their erudition. Necessarily because of the nature of this study they should remain anonymous for a note of acknowledgment here might be a betrayal of confidence in Qualla. Field workers who ignore the literacy of their informants are guilty of the worst ethnological manners. However, for the benefit of scholars who might wish to engage in future study among the Eastern Cherokee a file of names will be retained and available.

For direction, a sustaining interest, and scholarly aids I am indebted to my majors department, its head, Professor Charles A. Ellwood, and to Professor Howard E. Jensen and Assistant Professor Edgar A. Thompson. I am similarly indebted to my minors committee, Professor William McDougall.

For financial assistance which made the field research possible I am indebted to the Duke University Committee on Research.

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1935 and the fall of 1936. In a similar fashion I am indebted to the staff at Qualla who were patiently cooperative, but especially to Miss Grace McDaniel of the field nursing service, Mr. C. D. Stevens, former supervising community worker, and Mr. Kelly C. Underwood of the Bird Town School.

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Debts to other adventurers among the tribes of the Southeast are indicated in footnote and bibliography, but special mention should be made of the classic studies of Mooney, the invaluable reports of Swanton and Speck, the historical treatments of Crane and Williams, and the earlier commentaries of Adair, Timberlake, and Bartram.

Needless to say, whatever value may be discovered in this dissertation is largely owing to the creditors listed here and others who must remain anonymous, but the final responsibility for synthesis, interpretation, and methodology is solely that of the author.

L. B.

Duke University

April, 1937

Introduction

At least two main lines of approach afford themselves in a study of this sort. One may treat a history of acculturation as a sequence pattern beginning with the first intrusions, noting the contacts as they occur and inferring the cultural and social adjustments as well as is possible. And if historical data and early descriptions were as complete as they are not, perhaps this would be the ideal technique. Then it would be possible to delineate certain of the processes in a manner which would be pari passu dynamic. Under such circumstances we might with some assurance set forth what happier sociologists have been wont to call "laws". However, the earliest historical material pertaining to the Cherokee is a melange of the infant wailings of an imperialism with its commercial and military self concern--thin stuff indeed on which to pin a culture history.

But whatever the difficulties may be in regard to the quality of historical writings our obligations to a difficult problem are unchanged, and we face the same obligations that each investigator must who wishes to analyze and interpret the reticulate webs of culture change. We hold with Lesser:¹ "...methodologically, time perspective or historicity is essential to an understanding of culture whatever special

¹Lesser, A. The Pawnee Ghost Dance, p.336

MEMORANDUM

TO : [Illegible]

FROM : [Illegible]

SUBJECT: [Illegible]

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to the quality of the scan. It appears to be a memorandum detailing a project or administrative matter.]

approach is undertaken. Culture is not a static content, but a dynamic continuum like the rest of the universe." The untenability of any other methodological stand will become apparent in the necessities of this study in which we are dealing with an exceptional cultural mobility.

Temporal divisions are a matter of convenience, and simply indicate from our point of interest the most striking aspects of continuous interweaving processes. It is not even certain that it is possible to characterize periods in any such fashion as we do, but if it be kept in mind that the processes dominant at each stage are continuous ones and are manifest at each successive stage the dangers of conceptualizations of this sort may be avoided and the purpose of conciseness of treatment may be served.

The second approach begins with the situation as it presents itself to the observer at the cultural instant. With the picture before him it is his task to trace backward (and project forward) the currents of acculturation. His clues are the survivals and stability of the original habit and the losses and modifications as well.

In this study, however, we shall not limit ourselves either to an interpretative history or ethnology. Upon the basis of a synthetic ethnographic statement as of 1540 we shall elaborate a history of the people, emphasizing as best we can those events which seem to be of significance to

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Cherokee rather than to white history. Especially, of course, stress will be laid upon incidents which were significant in changing or maintaining a way of life.

Finally, on the evidence of a contemporary field study, comparisons will be drawn with the aboriginal status and the data of survival and intrusion will be presented. It is hoped that such a body of treatment is an adequate foundation for interpreting the essential processes of acculturation as they have taken place and are going on among the Cherokee.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used in footnote citations throughout the body of this thesis.

American Anthropologist: Am. Anth.

American Journal of Sociology: A.J.S.

Annual Reports and Bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology: A.R. B.A.E. and Bull. B.A.E.

Smithsonian Institution Reports: S.I.

Annual Reports: A.R. S.I.

Miscellaneous Collections: S.I. M.C.

Due to the fact that the nature of this thesis is not primarily linguistic, diacritical symbols have been omitted.

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The Acculturation of the Eastern Cherokee

The acculturation of the Eastern Cherokee is a complex process that has been shaped by centuries of contact with European and American societies. This process has involved the adoption of new technologies, agricultural practices, and social structures, while also leading to the loss of traditional customs and languages. The Eastern Cherokee have adapted to the dominant culture, but they have also maintained a distinct identity and a strong sense of community. The process of acculturation has been a double-edged sword, bringing both progress and loss to the Eastern Cherokee people.

The Eastern Cherokee have a rich history and a deep connection to their land. They have a strong sense of pride in their heritage and a commitment to preserving their traditions. The process of acculturation has been a challenge, but it has also been a source of strength and resilience for the Eastern Cherokee people. They have adapted to the dominant culture, but they have also maintained a distinct identity and a strong sense of community. The process of acculturation has been a double-edged sword, bringing both progress and loss to the Eastern Cherokee people.

Chapter I

The Aboriginal Status

The Cherokee of the Southern Appalachians were historically and culturally one of the most important and numerous Indian peoples of the United States. If we take the population of aboriginal America north of Mexico to be about a million, the Cherokee with some twenty thousand comprised a considerable part of the total.¹ Their affiliation with the Iroquoian linguistic stock indicates their Northwest-central origin, but culturally they are to be classified with their neighbors in the Southeast.² Physically they were a mixture of the Algonquian-Iroquois dolichocephalic type and the Eastern and Southern brachycephals.³

¹Kroeber, A. L. "Native American Population" Am.Anth.N.S.
vol. xxxvi pp.1-26

Mooney, James. 19 A.R. B.A.E. p. 11

Swanton, J. R. S.I. M.C. vol. lxxx p.80

²Powell, J. W. 7 A.R. B. A. E.

³Hrdlicka, Ales. Bull.62 B.A.E.

They were masters at various times of one hundred thousand square miles of territory included in six states⁴ but tribal geography was a flexible thing indeed as is revealed by the ease with which later population movements were initiated. Their neighbors and foes were various Muskhogean, Siouan, and Algonquian speaking peoples. Most important and keenest competitors were the Creek to the south with whom they contested the control of upper Georgia. Westward the Chickasaw and Shawano effectually barred the way to the lower Tennessee and the Cumberland. In the north the apparented Iroquois, who had achieved a greater tribal unity than the Cherokee ever were to attain, exercised an unrivalled dominion. That these neighbors entered into the Cherokee life and were not merely geographical points of reference is indicated by Morgan's citation of an ancient treaty of the Iroquois with the O-ya-da-go-o-no (Iroquoian name for the Cherokee, signifying the people who dwell in caves).⁵ By this treaty the Tennessee River was made the limit of pursuit of retreating bands of raiders. The raided group could stage a counter raid, but must not molest the camp of the retreating war party.⁵ In Virginia were the Powhatan and Monacan, and on the east and southeast were the Tuscarora (also Iroquoian speaking) and the Catawba, Sara, Yamassee, and Yuchi.

⁴See Map.

⁵Morgan, L. H. League of the Iroquois vol. I p.328

With all these peoples the Cherokee maintained almost constant warfare for marginal hunting lands. But acculturation was both of the piratical and normal varieties. "The Cherokee have strains of Creek, Catawba, Uchee, Natchez, Iroquois, Osage, and Shawano blood...." Mooney notes.⁶ In discussing the origin of Cherokee myths he goes on to say:⁷

Indians are great wanderers, and a myth can travel as far as a redstone pipe or a string of wampum. It was customary, as it still is to a limited extent in the west, for large parties, sometimes even a whole band or village, to make long visits to other tribes, dancing, feasting, trading, and exchanging stories with their friends for weeks or months at a time, with the expectation that their hosts would return the visit within the next summer.... The very existence of a trade jargon or a sign language is proof of inter-tribal relations over wide areas.

Our present dependence upon elaborate and speedy systems of transportation predisposes us to underestimate the complexity of contact and interdependence that far-removed peoples could achieve without such means. But if an automobile insures the opportunity for a variety of contacts, it also comes close to insuring their superficiality. However, we need no such argument for our discussion. Myer's Indian Trails of the Southeast in which some hundred and twenty-five native highways are listed is ample evidence.⁸

⁶Mooney, James. 19th A.R. B.A.E. p. 234

⁷Ibid.

⁸Myer, W. E. 42nd A.R. B.A.E. p.746ff. see also Bull.30 pt.2 pp.800, 802

The Cherokee country yielded a steatite suited to pipe manufacture, and it was a chief product of export as is shown by its wide distribution. Myer gives a good perspective on the matter as follows:⁹

In the mounds in Ohio, Tennessee, and elsewhere objects from the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific, and from nearly every section of the interior of the United States have been found obsidian from the Rocky Mountain region, pipestone from the great red pipestone quarries of Minnesota or Wisconsin, steatite and mica from the Appalachians, copper from the region of the Great Lakes and elsewhere, shells from the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic, dentalium and abalone shells from the Pacific Coast, and now and then artifacts which at least hint at some remote contact with Mexican Indian culture.

C. C. Jones notes relevantly:¹⁰

It is said that, among the Cherokee Indians of Georgia, in ancient times were men who devoted their attention to the manufacture of spear and arrow heads, and other stone implements. As from time to time they accumulated a supply, they would leave their mountain-homes and visit the seaboard and intermediate regions for the purpose of exchanging these implements for shells and various articles....

The above should establish the point we must emphasize, that the prehistoric Cherokee lived no encapsulated life of cultural and social isolation.

The descriptive note to follow simply purposes to outline in a conservative fashion the salient aspects of life in the mountains of the Southeast before the advent of the white man.

⁹Myer, W. E. op. cit. p.736

¹⁰Jones, C. C. Antiquities of the Southern Indians pp.243-244

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Politically the Cherokee "Nation" was a confederacy of towns which according to dialects may be divided into three groups. The Eastern or Lower dialect was originally spoken in the towns situated on the head-waters of the Savannah River and is characterized by an 'r' which takes the place of 'l' in other dialects. The tribal name of this group, Tsa rage, was corrupted by the English into the form we know, while the Spanish, meeting the Central and Western towns, wrote the name Chalaque. The Middle or Kituhwa dialect was spoken in the towns on the Tuckasegee and the head of the Little Tennessee in the very heart of the Nation, and it is spoken by the Qualla remnant today. The Western dialect was spoken in east Tennessee, north Georgia, and on the Hiwassee and Cheowa rivers in North Carolina. It has been the literary dialect and is the language of the Western Band.

The total number of towns probably totaled fifty or more, but not infrequently locations were changed and their populations varied greatly according to the seasonal patterns. Although Echota or Itsati on the Little Tennessee was the most important town, it cannot be regarded as a true capitol, for the isolating nature of the topography, local rivalries, and a high rate of mobility prevented political cohesion.

Cherokee life was laid in a setting of woods, stream valleys, and mountains. Numerous species of evergreens and hardwoods sheltered deer, bear, buffalo, elk, wolf, panther, wildcat, turkey, pheasant, and rattlesnake. There seems to have been no living creature that was not sought out for its meat, pelt,

or feathers. Maize, beans, squashes, and tobacco were the chief cultivated plants. Gilbert regards the mountain environment as being one of relative poverty,¹¹ but Swanton, with whom this writer is inclined to agree, speaks of the country as a rich one.¹² Aboriginal life in North America was always a matter of hard necessity, but as Swanton says:¹³

"...the mountain tribes...merely failed to accumulate surplus wealth sufficient to affect their social and political institutions and alter their laws."

The diet was augmented and diversified by the collecting of nuts, seeds, and berries. A kind of bread was made from the dried persimmon, and oils were extracted from the hickory nut and acorn. In the highland area sugar was secured from maples.

Like most peoples whose practise of agriculture was pre-sedentary and who depended considerably on hunting, the Cherokee economic organization had a sexual division. Routine cultivation was largely the province of women, although land-clearing and ground-breaking were communal enterprises. We might note in passing that the cooperative, such as the gadugh, was a distinctive feature of Southeastern society. Gatherings for community work were occasions for social diversion and had much the same motivation and aspect as the "bees" of colonial and rural America.

¹¹Gilbert, W.H. Eastern Cherokee Social Organization Ms.p.8

¹²Swanton, Jr.R. 42nd A.R. B.A.E. p.725

¹³Ibid.

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The crafts of conservation pertaining to agriculture likewise were part of the female life pattern, and we find Cherokee women the principal manufacturers of baskets, mats, and sieves. These were made from cane which abounded on the banks of the lower rivers, and from splints of the oak. Here we find the northermost extension of the double weave technique, but Cherokee basketry and pottery was markedly inferior to that of Gulf peoples.¹⁴ Smooth ware was common, but a distinctive pottery was characterized by paddle stamped designs which are probably to be related to basketry patterns. There is some sign of intrusion of effigy motives from the Mississippi area. Mortars and pestles were of wood rather than stone.

Man's place in the economic sphere was as a consumer and hunter, and the deer both for its meat and pelt was most important. Hunting was largely with the bow and arrow, although the blowgun fashioned from cane (Arundinaria tecta and macro-sperma) was used for small game. The usual variety of stone knives, axes, celts, awls, and heads were available, and these of course were augmented by tools and weapons of wood and cane. The latter was invariably fashioned into knives.

The preparation of skins and clothes seem to have been the woman's task, although man indulged in the more gratuitous forms of ornament fabrication. The invariable article of male attire was a deerskin breechclout augmented with skin robes,

¹⁴Speck, F. G. Decorative Art and Basketry of the Cherokees Bulletin, Museum of the City of Milwaukee. vol.2 no.2

moccasins and leggings as the terrain and weather required. Women wore a short deerskin skirt as a basic garment.

The use of feather cloaks was probably more ceremonial and decorative than utilitarian. Headbands of feathers, skins, or metal were common. Cloaks were "finger woven" of the inner bark of the mulberry, and belts, garters and the like were made from bison and opossum hair. Quill work was lacking or rare.

Tattooing was a universal practice, and the Southern Indian thus wore identification tags and cuff jottings which Swanton calls bulletin boards. Both face and body were painted in preparation for ball games, war, and other social functions. Extravagant ear decorations were common, although the Cherokee did not join the Creek and Chickasaw in ornamenting the nose, nor did they practise artificial head flattening as did other southern tribes. Men wore their hair shaved/^{or plucked} to a roach or crest, but the women did not cut theirs.

Ancient dwellings were circular structures of logs, poles, and bark frequently faced with earth. Ramsey speaks of a conical town hovel thirty feet in diameter and twenty feet high which was used as council hall and for ceremonies:¹⁵

"Within it were beds, made of cane, rather tastefully arranged around its circumference...(it) had a single entrance.... There was neither window nor chimney." There is some mention of a square house of poles, probably of Iroquoian derivation.

¹⁵ Ramsey, J. G. McGregor. The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century. p. 169

During the summer, meetings and social functions were held in open lounging pavilions, the more elaborate of which had porches. Corncribs, granaries, and storage houses for skins, weapons, and valuables were common in the more populous towns.

Transportation aids were rare. Rafts and canoes made from hollowed logs were paddled along less precarious river passages. On land the Cherokee depended on his own adequate legs, and sometimes his dogs may have been used for such purposes.

Hunting, particularly of deer, was managed by stalking and surrounds. Fish were secured by spear, bow, dams and poisoned pools. The simple hand drill was used to make fire.

Turning now from the material aspects in our cursory survey of early Cherokee culture, let us note the social organization of the people. As was the case in the rest of the Southeast, descent was matrilinear by totemic clans. Seven exogamous clans were clearly discernible: Ani-Wa ya (Wolf), Ani-Kawi (Deer), Ani-Tsi skwa (Bird), Ani-Gilahi (Long-haired People), Ani-Gatagewi (incorrectly, Blind Savanna), Ani-Saha ni (Blue People?), Ani-Wa di (Paint). Mooney suggests that these are supposed to have replaced an earlier set of fourteen by fusion of pairs.¹⁶ If such a reduction in the number of clans did occur it may have taken place by an ancient fusion of two moieties, for such divisions were common in this area. On the other hand, the names of clans which appear in

¹⁶Mooney, James. 19th A.R. B.A.E. p. 213

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sporadic references may not be clans at all, but rather a misinterpretation of the Cherokee prefix Ani. In any case, it is merely an intriguing academic problem unlikely of solution.

Land was controlled by towns, and the tribe as a totality held little direct supervision over it. Within the town, ownership was a matter of occupancy. The Cherokee household was matrilineal, and there may have been some tendency for land to pass on in a matrilineal fashion, although relatively short periods of residence would preclude this.

Mooney suggests that Indian names were "significant and appropriate if not polite".¹⁷ Many Cherokee names ended in a word meaning "killer", and Swanton says:¹⁸ "Wherever we have been able to collect the information, it has been found that it was usual for a man advanced in years to adopt the name of his son." Names might change or accumulate over a period of years. Some, such as "warrior" or "brave" surely had an initiatory significance. Others were an indication of the status one had achieved by accomplishment in battle, whereas others, probably very few, referred to some formal position which the individual discharged in the community.

Pre-marital chastity was exceedingly unusual. Transfer of property attendant upon marriage was customary. Polygamy was permissible, but too expensive for the general ^{masses}, but when it did

¹⁷Mooney, James. "Evolution in Cherokee Personal Names", Am. Anth. vol.II, no. 1

¹⁸Swanton, J. R. op. cit. p. 698

occur the wives were often sisters or clan sisters. Abstinence during the mourning period was mandatory, but much longer for widows than widowers.¹⁹ According to some reports divorce was so common that a kind of circumstantial successive polygamy was the order of things.

The political organization was a bifurcate affair. The Red hierarchy consisted of a high priest of war and his assistants, scouts, surgeons, and a number of "Pretty Women", clan ladies of high position and considerable influence. This group was devoted to the prosecution of war. The White organization was devoted to the maintenance of peace and had its separate hierarchy to discharge its offices. Some towns were classified as Red or White, and the latter were places of refuge.

Bartram's picture of aboriginal life in the Southeast in the latter part of the Eighteenth century will serve as a basic representation of certain phases which are not treated elsewhere.²⁰

Every town or community assigns a piece or parcel of land as near as may be to the town, for the sake of convenience. This is called the town plantation, where every family or citizen has his parcel or share, according to desire or convenience, or the largeness of his family. The shares are bounded by a strip of grass ground, poles set up, or any other natural or

¹⁹Swanton, J. R. 42nd A.R. B.A.E. p.700

²⁰Bartram, Wm. Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians. Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, vol.iii part I. passim.

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artificial boundary, so that the whole plantation is a collection of lots joining each other, comprised in one enclosure or general boundary.

In the spring, when the season arrives, all the citizens, as one family, prepare the ground and begin to plant, commencing at one end or the other, as convenience may direct for the general good, and so continue on until finished; and when the young plants arise and require culture, they dress and husband them until the crops are ripe. The work is directed by an overseer elected or appointed annually, I suppose in rotation throughout all the families of the town.

When the fruits of their labors are ripe and in fit order to gather in, they all on the same day repair to the plantation: each gathers the produce of his own proper lot, brings it to town, and deposits it in his own crib, allotting a certain portion for the Public Granary, which is called the King's crib, because its contents are at his disposal, though not his private property, but considered as the tribute or free contribution of the citizens of the State, at the disposal of the king.

The design of the common granary is for the wisest and best of purposes, with respect to their people, i.e., a store or resource to repair to in cases of necessity. Thus when a family's private stores fall short, in cases of accident or otherwise, they are entitled to assistance and supply from the public granary, by applying to the king. It also serves to aid other towns which may be in want; and affords provisions for their armies, for travellers, sojourners, &c. etc.

Thus the Mico²¹ becomes the provider or Father of his People, or of mankind--the greatest and most godlike character upon earth.

Besides the general plantation, each inhabitant in the town incloses a garden spot adjoining his house, where he plants corn, rice, squashes, etc., which, by early planting and close attention, affords an earlier supply than the distant plantations.

²¹The "White" Chief.

Now, although it appears that these people enjoy all the advantages of freedom and private property, and have laws, usages, and customs, which secure each one his rights according to reason, justice, and equality, the whole tribe²² seems as one family or community, and, in fact, all their possessions are in common; for they have neither locks nor bars to their doors, and there is a common and continual intercourse between the families of a tribe; indeed, throughout the Confederacy, they seem as one great family, perfectly known and acquainted with each other whenever they meet.²³

If one goes to another's house and is in want of any necessary that he or she sees, and says, I have need of such a thing, it is regarded only as a polite way of asking for it, and the request is forthwith granted, without ceremony or emotion; for he knows he is welcome to the like generous and friendly return at any time.

We see later this note on the conduct of the Council which seems to have been a men's club as well as a judicial-political body:

The Mic-co, counsellors, and warriors, meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns; smoke their pipes; and play Thla-chal-litch-cau (roll the bullet). Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making as well as delivering the a-cee to all who attend the square.

The function of the system of "checks and balances" which was effected by the bifurcate system is illustrated in the case of war:

²²No doubt clan throughout.

²³A very significant indication of the nature of aboriginal solidarities.

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This is always determined on by the Great Warrior. When the Mic-co and counsellors are of opinion that the town has been injured, he lifts the war hatchet against the nation which has injured them. But as soon as it has been taken up, the Mic-co and counsellors may interpose, and by their prudent counsels stop it, and proceed to adjust the misunderstanding by negotiation. If the Great Warrior persists and goes out, he is followed by all who are for war. It is seldom a town is unanimous, the nation never is; and within the memory of the oldest man among them, it is not recollected that more than one half the nation have been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk.

The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off.

The Cherokee year consisted irregularly of twelve or thirteen months because of confusion of solar and lunar calendars. Functionally the year was punctuated by six festivals which symbolize several essential phases of

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Cherokee life:

There was anciently a regular series of festivals --six in all--and each with significant peculiarities. These were held in the national heptagon, when the entire population of the seven tribes (i.e. clans) assembled under the summons of the leku (high priest), through his seven councillors, by whom the ceremonials were directed: and here, being the metropolis, every abode on such occasions was open, and every hospitality gratuitous. Minor festivals were also celebrated every new moon--more especially at the beginning of each quarter of the year;--as well as a regular sacrifice on every seventh day. Occasional festivals were likewise mentioned; the most remarkable of which took place in remote times, once in seven years.

The six greater festivals were observed in the

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following order:

1st. The Festival of the First New Moon of Spring, which was celebrated about the time the grass began to grow.²⁵

2nd. Sah-looh-stuknee, Keeh-steh-steek; a preliminary or new green-corn feast, held when the young corn first became fit to taste.

3rd. Tung-noh-kaw-hoough-ni; mature or ripe green-corn festival, which succeeded the other in some forty or fifty days, when the corn had become hard and perfect.²⁶

4th. Nung-tah-toy-quah; great new-moon feast, which occurred on the occasion of the appearance of the first new moon of autumn.²⁷

5th. Ah-tawn-ung-nah; propitiation or cementation festival, succeeding the former in about ten days.²⁸

6th. Elah-wahtah-lay-kee; the festival of the exulting or bounding bush, which came somewhat later.

These ceremonies encompassed the whole gamut of Cherokee religious, social, and recreative life.

²⁵This initiated the goga summer months.

²⁶This is the festival which seems to have survived all the others. See Chapter Six.

²⁷This signalled the beginning of the gola winter months.

²⁸During this celebration reconciliation was the key note and even revenge obligations might be abrogated. Such a motif occurs in other ceremonies, and plays a very important part in the Boos-ke-tau, during which a general amnesty was provided. The aborigines were absolved from all crimes with the occasional exception of murder, and the guilt itself seems to have been buried in oblivion through some social participation of the community. It is likely that such solidarities and social functions as this, difficult to isolate and evaluate, comprised the most significant and far-reaching of early deculturizing. The Ah-tawn-ung-nah festival is to be indentified with the Busk, universal in the southeast (Bartram's Boos-ke-tau).

Type traits of Cherokeean life which have been noted in the preceeding discussion and which will be found of especial significance throughout the body of the paper are the following: going to water, indulging in dances, the bifurcate social organization, the organization of clans, personal decoration and clothing, the pre-sedentary habit, and certain material culture traits. But primarily this treatment has been designed to present a basic frame of reference for the ensuing chapters. It is intended in no way to be a complete ethnographic report. That would be utter artifice; it is not within the province of this paper, nor are we interested in the minutiae of conjecture that it would entail. Certain significant items, however, will be elaborated upon in the discussion to follow.

Chapter II

Contact: The Tentative Period

1540--1721

The first contacts of the Cherokee with Western Civilization occurred during the incursions of De Soto in 1540, Pardo in 1566, and in the thirty years following Boyano, De Luna, and Villafane. De Soto's visit, brief and meteoric as it was, is important more as a starting point than anything else. For his trouble the Spaniard carried nothing away more valuable than a souvenir, the first dressed buffalo skin secured by a white man.

Twenty-six years later, now with a base of operations at the fortified settlement of San Felipe near Port Royal in South Carolina, Juan Pardo explored the interior. Knowledge of gold and silver mines in the Cherokee country reached Saint Augustine and San Felipe. Many signs of early mining operations apparently of a European nature indicate that

these discoveries were followed up.¹

Mooney is inclined to think that the early Spanish contacts made a "considerable" permanent impression on the Cherokee.² Had the following interval seen a continuous contact with representatives of European culture this would be correct. However, the diffuse distribution of Cherokee towns, the dwellings of which were more scattered than among other tribes, and the high mobility of population would permit much absorption of cultural impressions which would go for little without the reinforcement of fairly stable settlements.

At least one linguistic remnant of the Spanish incursion is evident today. The Cherokee word for cow, waka, is unmistakably derived from the Spanish yaca. We cannot be sure whether cattle and the word were brought in directly by the Spaniards or through the agency of neighboring tribes such as the Creek who had the word waga, and the Arapaho who transliterated the equivalent wakuch. The date of the introduction of horses is also conjectural. It may very well have been in this first period of Spanish contact, but probably the horse and the cow in Cherokee economy played only an incidental role for more than a century. That these

¹Jones, C. C. Jr., Antiquities of the Southern Indians
pp.48,49

²Mooney, James. 19th A.R. B.A.E. p.202

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creatures never appeared in Cherokee mythology is a provocative commentary on the invulnerability of the myth to items which belong to different psychological spheres. This will be noted later in connection with other forms such as medicine.

Much more important from the standpoint of being apprenticeship to acculturation must have been the population movements following the dislocation of coastal tribes, and important too were the introduction of Western culture elements at second hand by bordering peoples. As early as 1685 mass movements in the interior were frequent enough to be noticed. Crane says,³ "Several times in the course of the international struggle for the Indian trade in the South, they (the Lower Creeks) changed their village sites."

Nearly a century passed before the Cherokee in 1654 are found in written history again, and this time it is a record of their discovery of the English colony of Virginia. In a foray into the lowland six or seven hundred "Rechahecrian" (Cherokee) warriors were the cause of considerable colonial perturbation. The assembly resolved⁴ "that these new come Indians be in no sort suffered to seat themselves...any place near us, it having cost so much blood to expel and extirpate those perfidious and treacherous Indians which were there formerly." (i.e. certain Powhatan tribes.)

³ Crane, V. W. The Southern Frontier. p.34

⁴ Burk, J. D. The History of Virginia pp.104-107

Allying themselves with the Pamunkey, the Virginians attempted to make good their resolution, but were whipped in a bloody battle and were forced to sue for peace.

Although removed from the Cherokee, the incipient colonies of the Spanish, French, and English were affecting coastal and frontier tribes. Fleeting direct contacts with exploratory parties became more frequent in the interior. The race was on for commercial and colonial supremacy, and in the early stages success was to go to the nation which manipulated Indian trade and alliances most successfully.

Spain's technique of cultural conquest was the mission. Crane says:⁵

In Florida, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, three mission fields had been developed. Despite periodic attacks by buccaneers, these missions of Guala, Timucua, and Apalache [in the province of Florida] survived until the Spanish Indian system, based upon religion and agriculture, came into fatal collision with the English system based solely upon trade.⁶

The permanent settlement of Charles Town in 1670 by the English established them as deadly foes to the Spanish. "Old Charles Town was now made strong against Indian attack. By September, 1670, thirty acres at the point had been surrounded by a palisade: a thousand Indians, it was believed could be withstood."⁷ From this one can infer the magnitude

⁵Crane, V. W. The Southern Frontier. p. 7

⁶The italics are mine.

⁷op. cit. p.11

of population movements which were taking place among the coastal and border tribes, the Sara, Yamasee, Catawba, Yuchi, Tamahita, and others. We can only guess at the turbulence in the interior. One index is language, and Powell notes that intertribal jargons were accelerated upon the advent of the white man.⁸ By the beginning of the eighteenth century territorial dislocations had reached a critical state, and the Cherokee engaged in chronic warfare with their neighbors which became more and more bitter.

Another phase of the violence of the frontier was the English inciting of attacks on the Spanish Guale. By 1680 the Cherokee had joined the Westo and Lower Creeks in such incursions. The need for adequate border defense gave rise to Indian slavery which soon outgrew its original design. Under the sanction of the Proprietors, Indian slavery "... soon developed into a flourishing business, and later, into a cruelly efficient engine of encroachment upon the spheres of influence of England's rivals in the South and West".⁹ This whole commerce in slaves depended in turn on inter-tribal wars, accentuating and intensifying struggles far beyond the aboriginal habit both in size and persistence.

Encroachments upon Indian lands, unfair treatment in trade, destruction of Indian crops by the settlers'

⁸Powell, J. W. 7th A.R. B.A.E. p.8

⁹Crane, V. W. op. cit. p.18

cattle--common incidents of a frontier--provoked Indian reprisals. The colonists too often complained of the destruction of their cattle and hogs in Indian hunts.¹⁰

Cultures which use soil to such different ends must necessarily conflict.

As the feelers of Carolina and Virginia expansion moved westward and competition with the French sphere of influence began the strategic importance of the Cherokee country was recognized. Trading with this people increased, and a post at Savannah Town gave access to the area. On another frontier the French were making their foothold; settlements were made at Biloxi in 1679, at Mobile in 1701, at New Orleans in 1712, and at Toulouse in 1714. Reciprocal raiding had begun in earnest on another frontier. "Les Anglois de la Caroline n'epargnent rien pour faire detruire nos Sauvages par les leurs," was the constant complaint of the officials of Louisiana."¹¹

The Indian trade was for colonial Carolina its most important economic tool, but the paradoxical wasting of native facilities went on apace. In 1705 Governor Moore was accused of granting commissions to persons "to set upon, assault, kill, distroy, and take captive,,,Indians...."¹²

Mooney holds that about 1700 the first guns were introduced among the Cherokee, but this seems to be a most conservative

¹¹Crane, V. W. op.cit. p.85

¹²North Carolina Colonial Records vol.ii p.904

date.¹³ Twenty years before they had joined forces with the Westo against the Guale, and the Westo were known to have firearms. Although Haywood's estimate of 1677 is based on a false premise it may be as close to the truth as the later date.¹⁴ By 1715 half of the warriors of the Upper and Middle Cherokee were estimated to have guns. Surely in any case by the last quarter of the seventeenth century the Cherokee trade with Carolina had provided them with horses, cattle, hogs, and rum, and soon after guns were available. Perhaps by 1695 trade had achieved a degree of regularity.

The following are a few indices of the extent and nature of trading practices during this period. In 1681 a permit was issued for the exportation of several "Seraquii" slaves captured by the Savannah Indians. Lawson tells us that in 1709 only the great men of the Piedmont tribes bought English coats and even these refused to wear breeches.¹⁵ The nearer settlements, however, indulged themselves in hats, shoes, stockings, breeches, and linen shirts. To a considerable extent the early diffusion of western traits took this idealized form of concentric spread from a central point. As trading factories came to be established in the back country this first pattern of diffusion was broken down. By

¹³Mooney, James. 19th A.R. B.A.E. p.32

¹⁴Haywood, John. The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee. p.237

¹⁵Lawson, John. History of North Carolina. pp.191 ff.

1. The first part of the report is devoted to a general survey of the situation in the country. It is divided into two main sections: the first deals with the political and administrative aspects, and the second with the economic and social conditions. The first section is further subdivided into three parts: the first part deals with the central government, the second with the provincial governments, and the third with the local municipalities. The second section is also subdivided into three parts: the first part deals with the agricultural sector, the second with the industrial sector, and the third with the services sector. The report concludes with a summary of the main findings and a list of recommendations.

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1717 there were factories at Keowee and Cowee in the Lower Towns and shortly after at Tugaloo, a Lower Town, Quanassee in the Middle Towns, and Tellico in the Over-Hill regions.

Trading practices do not always follow an ideal scheme as we can well imagine, and by 1716 the Indians were sufficiently good connoisseurs of spirits to complain about the watering of the rum. This having been brought before the commissioners at Charles Town, that august body decreed: "In the mixture with Rum, let there be a convenient proportion."¹⁶

By 1707 the Indian trade of Carolina was governmentally regulated, and by 1711 the spheres of influence were sufficiently extended so that Virginia and South Carolina could quarrel over areas of control.

The attempt of the Carolina colony to establish some direct contact with the tribes was exemplified in the second decade of the eighteenth century by the appointment of an Indian agent. For two hundred and fifty pounds per annum he was to live ten months among the tribes, supervise trade, and act as a justice of the peace, a small claims court, district attorney, sheriff, supervisor of traders' morals, council, counselor, and politician.

On occasion an almost plaintive note creeps into this early contact. In a letter we find an account of Cherokee women "...who...desr'd me to send that good Woman (for so they styl'd her) [Queen Anne] a present from them viz a large

¹⁶Journal of the Indian Commissioners, 11/1/1716. quoted in Crane op.cit. p.196

carpet made of Mulberry bark for herself to sit on and twelve small ones for her Counsellors."¹⁷

Another perspective of the Indian trade is the following.¹⁸ Charles Town in the spring was the metropolis of the whole Southern Indian country. There were caravans of twenty or thirty horses; or silent files of Indian burdeners who sought out the warehouses of the merchants. In their offices Mr. Benjamin Godin, Mr. John Bee, Mr. Samuel Eveleigh, and other promoters of the trade reckoned their profits from last year's ventures to the Cherokee or the Talapoosa. Their shops were freshly stocked with English woollens in bright colors, strouds, duffels, and all the baubles which would fill the packs of the traders on their return journeys. The Indian commissioners held frequent sessions, and trading licenses renewable each year were approved or rejected.

In this southern trade more than in any other of the English colonies the Indian slave-trade was of commercial proportions, and the distant tribes on the Florida and Louisiana frontiers suffered most.¹⁹ For every slave taken perhaps three were killed, and because they escaped with facility, exportation to New England or the West Indies was common. Indians were poor workers in the fields though some

¹⁷Crane, V. W. op. cit. note p.103

¹⁸Largely after Crane op.cit. Ch.V passim.

¹⁹Note that extreme manifestations of the frontiers occur at the most critical areas where the emergency is most pressing and the contact with the home area most tenuous. For a more elaborate discussion of the problem of the frontier see Chapter Three.

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became skilled artisans, and whereas an Indian might bring twenty pounds, a Negro would be worth twice as much.

Yearly trade fluctuated widely according to the vicissitudes of the frontier. Trouble with the Cherokee for instance was recorded as a slump for 1728-1730. At first wampum and substitutes for crudely made native articles comprised the traders' cargoes. 'The Indian Trade' sent out by the Proprietors in 1669 included glass beads, hatchets, hoes, adzes, 'sizzard', and 'ten striped shirts', the last as presents for chiefs.

But soon the nature of the trade changed as is evidenced by the following list of prices for barter with the Cherokee:²⁰

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Skins</u>
Gun 1	35
Pistol 1	20
Bullets 30	1
Flints 12	1
Hatchet 1	3
Sword 1	10
Knife 1	1
Scissors 1 pair	1
Axe 1	5
Hat (narrow) 1	3
Hat (broad) 1	5
Beads (strings) 2	1
Strouds 1 yard	8
Plains or half-thicks 1 yard	3
Duffel blankets (white) 1	16
Shirt	5
Coat (broadcloth laced) 1	30
Coat (half-thicks laced) 1	20
Petticoat (calico) 1	14
Red girdle 1	2

(11/ 6/16
-7 skins)

²⁰Crane, V.W. op.cit. Appendix B p.332 from Journal of the Indian Commission of South Carolina, July 24, 1716.(n.v.)

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Once a demand for merchandise not manufactured by the Indians was created, or the native industries had fallen into disuse, a threat to cut off the trade was often sufficient to bring a recalcitrant tribe to terms. This was especially true when the Indians had been supplied with arms and munitions, for early efforts to prevent trade in those articles were defeated by policy and greed.

Most of the names of the early traders are lost. About a hundred are given in public records of service and misdemeanor before 1715 and another hundred from 1715-1732. Some wretches who owed debts in Charles Town were exiles for many years in the Indian country. Only the publication of moratoria could bring them out of the forest.

A Cherokee burdener who carried a pack of thirty skins was paid "...two yards of blew duffields...for their labor and travel to Charles Town and home again."²¹ As always, the cheapest thing on the frontier was man power.

Out from Savannah Town moved the traders into the Lower Towns of the Cherokee. Their trading goods of cloth, trinkets, and rum were packed by Indians or horses. Most of their names are unknown largely because they were not a highly literate group. With an amazing degree of self assurance they struck out singly and in small parties, often ignorant of the

²¹ Journal of the Indian Commissions of South Carolina,
November 27, 1717. (n.v.)

languages of the indigenes, always in danger from some tribe on the warpath.

Through hundreds of miles of uncharted forest and over most difficult terrain the trade in peltries was pursued. From their native wives the traders learned custom and language, and more than one white broke the slender strands that held him to the Coast and civilization.

Allying themselves with the English, two hundred Cherokee from 1711 to 1713 assisted in the expulsion of their hereditary enemies, the cognate Tuscarora.

At the conclusion of this affair the Indian tribes from Cape Fear to the Chattahoochee began a series of assaults on the frontier which threatened the very existence of the colony. The blame for the trouble was laid upon traders who "had been very abusive to them of late". But shortly the settlers rallied, crushed the Yamasee, who had been exceedingly aggressive, polished off the minor coastal tribes, and soon those in the interior came to terms.

Accompanied by a trader a number of Cherokee chiefs went to Charles Town to sue for peace, and in the winter of 1715-16 several hundred white troops made their headquarters among the Lower Cherokee and negotiations were continued. The Cherokee were willing to aid the English against tribes other than the Yamasee.

The Upper Cherokee, however, apparently felt more secure, were loath to capitulate, and were resolved to continue warring against the Creek. By such warfare they secured slaves and

thus could buy guns and ammunition with which they could capture more slaves. At the moment, however, the English wanted peace with the Creek, and finally prevailed upon the Middle and Upper Towns to be satisfied with two hundred guns, ammunition, and a detachment of fifty white soldiers to assist them against those tribes which were still at war with the English. Such a situation typifies the cross purposes that made a unifying of tribal or colonial policies impossible.

However, a conscious attempt was made, and in 1721 a conference to systematize Indian affairs was held by Governor Nicholson. Thirty-seven Cherokee towns were represented, more than half the total number. One chief was made a supreme head of the nation (at Nicholson's suggestion), trading methods were regulated, and a boundary was fixed.

In 1721 Charleston became a Crown Colony, and in the same year the first Cherokee cession was made. Powell suggests that part of the land they surrendered belonged to the Congaree.²² But that is an unimportant matter. The precedent was established which would be pursued out of utter necessity until in a century their whole dominion would be lost.

This then was the apprenticeship period, the span of tentative contacts. Western economic and political influences had become elements constantly to be reckoned with in the Cherokee way of life. A people with imperialistic visions of

²²Powell, J. W. 7th A.R. B.A.E. p.78

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some dimensions were busy realizing them, and in the most unromantic sense of the word the Cherokee were pawns. They were pawns which were exploited, extirpated, or cajoled, according as they were looked upon as trade, barrier, or ally.

A great need had arisen for the people to act more nearly as a political unity than ever before, and with the repeated appointing of treaty commissions the Cherokee confederacy became welded more closely together. At first only the Lower Towns were concerned, but with the location of traders in the interior other sections were brought gradually into the sphere. Had they achieved the unity of the Iroquois one can only conjecture the influence they might have had on the history of the Southern colonies.

Certain material culture traits had been adopted because of their patent superiority. Weapons, metal tools, livestock, cloth, and rum were all more efficient than the native control over resources could provide. But especially in the case of these early intrusions adoption did not spell displacement. The old way persisted, and much that was new must be classed as luxury. The pelt of the deer increased in value, meats were relatively devalued. Men were to be conquered for goods rather than prestige. A rifle suddenly came to be valued higher than any other possession.

But aside from the modifications we have suggested, the core of custom and tradition at the basis of Cherokee life remained intact. The social organization remained unmodified, but there were busy days for the Skayagusta egwa, the high

priest of the Red organization. White men were fathers of Cherokee children, but the kinship system was matrilineal, and there were no clanless Cherokee. The ceremonial, recreative, and religious systems may have been somewhat elaborated with new elements, but their integrity was unchanged. So far the Cherokee knew only the tools and weapons, the traders and soldiers of Western civilization. Changes had begun to take place, but they were selective and specialized.

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Chapter III

Impact and Retreat: 1721-1820's

Toward the end of the Tentative Period which we have just discussed political influences upon the Cherokee began to assume their ultimate form of displacement. Although Indian trade was to play its part in colonial life for some years, its role was progressively a smaller one. The motif had definitely and permanently changed to colonization.

The first cession in 1721 was made at a time when trade was still important, and a large part of its purpose was to establish a boundary so that the economic interdependence would not be disturbed. But soon, except as allies in war, the Indians were to become a liability and an obstacle, and all in all white policy was dominated by the pattern of displacement.

But before we interpret the nature and import of displacement, let us turn our attention to some of the particularities of acculturation.

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At this time the conduct and organization of Cherokee social life was still dominated by the aboriginal pattern. The system of law was characterized by the revenge motif rather than punishment in any strict sense. Not for another two generations would the Cherokee achieve the degree of politico-social self-consciousness that would enable them to break down the customary rule of clan revenge. Timberlake tells us that he observed no punishment of any kind except for murder.¹ And this tallies exactly with the reports of earlier observers.

One of the distinctive features of Cherokee life which, we shall note later, survives even until today was the role of cooperation. Both Timberlake^{1a} and Schneider^{1b} speak of the custom of making collections for the poor by letting warriors pay for advertising their valor. "This," says Timberlake, "is touching vanity in a tender part, and is an admirable method of making even imperfections conduce to the good of society." Actually it seems that participation in communistic enterprise was a privilege quite beyond the prestige that it entailed, and here we have the socialization of altruism that is rare in any society. We shall note below in the discussion of the burial and poor committees a rather direct manifestation of the surviving cooperative pattern.

¹Timberlake, Lieut. H. Memoirs p.91

^{1a}Op. cit. 92ff.

^{1b}Williams, S.C. op.cit. p.262

We are fortunate to have in this period the descriptions of Timberlake, who, in the interests of the English Colonies, lived as a military politician among the Cherokee for several years during the middle of the eighteenth century. Early reports are significant both for their delineation of the primitive culture and for insight into the type of influence and the quality of the representatives of western civilization who carried it. The discussion which immediately follows is essentially an annotation of the Memoirs of the discomfited but explicit lieutenant. Thus he saw the people:^{1c} "The Cherokee are of middle stature, of an olive color..." They are painted and tattooed with gunpowder. [Note gunpowder.] Their hair is shaved, "...tho' many of the old people have it plucked out..., except a patch...." The above, of course, refers to the roach common among the southeastern tribes, but we may notice that even in this early period the trait was decaying from its aboriginal state in which plucking was common to a modified shaving. This change may in part, but probably not wholly, be attributed to better shaving tools. Other and more extreme forms of personal decoration such as slit and stretched ears and possibly nose piercing were still practiced. There is some indication that this latter trait may have been a recent borrowing from the "Shawnese".

Personal adornment being a general human indulgence, we are not surprised to find that the native habit and Western contributions were highly miscible.

^{1c} Timberlake, Lieut. H. Memoirs p.75

They that can afford it wear a collar of wampum which are beads cut out of clamshells, a silver breast-plate, and bracelets on their arms and wrists of the same metal, a bit of cloth over their private parts, a shirt of the English make, a sort of cloth-boots, and mockasons, which are shoes of a make peculiar to the Americans, ornamented with porcupine-quills; a large mantle or match-coat thrown over all compleats their dress at home...."²

At war, he tells us, they "...leave everything behind."

Except for hair plucking,

"...the rest of their dress is now become very much like the European.... The old people still remember & praise the ancient days, before they were acquainted with the whites, when they had but little dress, except a bit of skin about their middles, mockasons, a mantle of buffalo skin for winter, and a lighter one of feathers for the summer...."³

Thus early the feather cloak had lost its place, but it is unlikely that the feather garment was worn other than ceremonially, and if that is so its early loss is the more remarkable. How readily were native traits stripped off for "a shirt of English make". But even though an English shirt was esteemed, being a European did not guarantee one prestige in Cherokee society. They were proud, we are informed, and despised the "lower class of Europeans".⁴ Timberlake explains the sexual division of Cherokee labor on the grounds that their land is⁵

...so remarkably fertile, that the women alone do all the laborious tasks of agriculture (raise) vast

²Ibid. p.76

³Ibid. p.77

⁴Ibid. p.79

⁵Timberlake, Lieut. H. op. cit. p.68 ff.

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quantities of pease, beans, potatoes, cabbages, Indian corn, pumpions, melons, & tabacco, not to mention a number of other vegetables imported from Europe....

Before the arrival of the Europeans, the natives were not so well provided, maize, melons, & tobacco being the only things they bestow (sic) culture upon....

This last is important, and from all indications, accurate. It shows a very fundamental shift in the native economy to be attributed in part to the precept and influence of whites and in lesser part to the reduction of game. Guns increased hunting efficiency, but the development of the storage habit would prove a marked stimulus to agriculture.

Ginseng was building a commercial reputation: "... ginsang, a root which never fails curing the most inveterate venereal disease, which, however, they never had occasion for, for that distemper, before the arrival of the Europeans..."⁶

A Cherokee arsenal of this time would contain guns, bows, darts, "scalping knives and tomahawkes", the last, of European manufacture, being in the hollow pipe mode.⁷ But the use of the blowgun was restricted for,⁸ "...birds, ^(are) pursued only by children, who at 8 or 10 years old, are very expert at killing with a sar-bacan...." Does this mean that at this early date the blowgun was losing caste? Our assumption does not seem wholly unfounded even though the "sar-bacan" was

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ op. cit. p.77

⁸ op. cit. p.71

not a very formidable weapon at its best. Canoes were made with Western metal tools instead of fire as formerly.

As to the trend in live stock:⁹ "...Indians have now a numerous breed of horses...hogs, but neither cows nor sheep...."

Current visitors to the Cherokee will feel a kinship with Timberlake for the native manner of food preparation has persisted to this day. Cherokee cooking is the world's great monument to the powers of human digestion, but their many formulae for "the green bile" reveal no acquired resistance.¹⁰

After smoking, the eatables were produced...(such as venison, bear, and buffalo)(the last were soon to pass from the Alleghanies.)...; tho' I cannot much commend their cookery, every thing being greatly over-done: There were likewise potatoes, pumpkins, homminy, boiled corn, beans, & peas, served in small flat baskets, made of split canes, which were distributed amongst the crowd...." (with water in "small goards.")

...What contributed greatly to render this feast disgusting, was eating without knives and forks, and being obliged to grope from dish to dish in the dark. After the feast there was a dance...but I retired to Kanganucko's hothouse¹¹...(where a)... crowd of Indians...came and sat on the bed-side....

Timberlake was greeted at Settico (Citico) by three to four hundred painted Indians; six with eagle tails danced¹²

⁹Ibid. p.72

¹⁰Op.cit. p. 61

¹¹The osi where medicinal and ceremonial steam baths were held. Also an isolation building for persons under taboo.

¹²Op.cit. p.63

...singing in concert with some drums of their own make & those of the late unfortunate Capt Damere (Demere)...Cheulah, the head man of the town, led the procession, painted blood-red, except his face, which was half black, holding an old rusty broadsword in his right hand, & eagle's tail in his left.

Again we note the miscibility of decorative traits: English and Indian drums, broad-sword and eagle feathers, gunpowder tatoo and aboriginal paint, English shirts and deer skins, all were the same terms and apparently the same meanings in the Cherokee mind.

Timberlake reports that pipe smoking was the mode, and a variety of stone and pottery models were in use:¹³ "I was almost suffocated with the pipes presented me on every hand, which I dared not decline...about 170 or 180; which made me so sick, that I could not stir for several hours."

War parties were not large in this country. From Chicken's visit in 1725 we have the following:¹⁴

We also are informed by ye Congarare that about ye latter end of August ther went out 50 of ye Cherrykees to goe agenst ye Coeakas and about 4 day journey down ye River (Tennessee River) meatt with severall Conowes (canoes) which they engaid: in ye fitte they killed 50 of ye Coeakees and 15 frinch men and toucke all their women and cheldrern slaves with abundance of goods that ye frinch was going to Trade with all among them.

Timberlake, for instance, speaks of a war party of thirty,¹⁵ and later tells us that one of one hundred sixty-five men

¹³Op. cit. p.65

¹⁴Williams, S. C. Early Travels in the Tennessee Country p.95

¹⁵Timberlake, Lieut. H. Memoirs p.117

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was excessively large.¹⁶ Hence our assumption that the mass attacks by the whites were an unique thing in the native experience seems well founded. It is not enough to say that they were equipped to carry on the new technique of battle. It seems fairly clear that land occupation, mass annihilation, and mass warfare were much less common before the advent of the Christians.

Now let us turn to the more properly historical events. Displacement occurred with great rapidity, and the frontier moved forward well ahead of land settlement. For more than a hundred years the history of Cherokee-White relationships is an account of a series of wars, and the land gains in each were rationalized and legalized in a series of treaties, conciliations, reconciliations, and broken promises.

These wars must have been markedly disintegrating in their confusion of values and purposes, and it seems that an instability was initiated which has been cumulative in effect and which has had a marked influence in the cultural adjustment of the people. Frontier mores, for instance, are not aboriginal mores on the one hand, nor those of the intruding culture on the other. They are emergency ways. If they have left a stamp of disharmony on our highly elaborate social pattern what could they have done to a more simply conceptualized world. As the frontier moved back, the Cherokee moved

¹⁶Op.cit. p.120

with it. Constantly they were at the focus of impact, and the psychology of a people living under such circumstances must be essentially a shock psychology not unlike that of war.

Actually, of course, the Cherokee were at war, but for them it was war of a new kind. First of all, its magnitude was greater than anything they had known before; secondly, its technology was different and more effective, and their widely distributed Cherokee towns made them especially vulnerable to attack. The Cherokee had no adequately integrated political organization to meet the national emergency. Their economy was not suited to pursue such a war, but they were not a pacific people, and they fought as fiercely and as ruthlessly as their foe. But invariably and inevitably the forces of civilization were victorious.

Between 1721 and 1783 ten treaties were made with colonial territories, and ten cessions were made; and between 1785 and 1835 twelve treaties were executed with the United States, and the Cherokee holdings east of the Mississippi were obliterated.¹⁷ It is interesting to notice that territorial absorption gathered momentum as time went on. Thirty-four years elapsed between the first and second cessions; thirteen between the second and third, and from that time until the final removal no decade passed that did not see Cherokee land

¹⁷ Royce, C. C. op. cit. pp.131,378

further reduced. Between 1768 and 1777 seven treaties almost halved the original claims of the tribe. And treaty lines were dead lines.¹⁸

During this period an item of some importance was that of Indian enslavement and slave holding. Slavery was, to be sure, a part of the native mores; for in ancient times enslavement might be a punishment for a crime, the payment of a gambling debt, the sale of a child in times of famine, a matter of barter between tribes, or a function of imprisonment in war. Among the Eastern tribes at least the slave was regarded as a part of the family, and the whole section of the mores encompassing slavery, imprisonment, and adoption had few clear demarcations within it.

Consequently when the Indians began to hold slaves, as they soon did with the progress of the sedentary way of life and also as numerous Negroes escaped into the hills, changes began to occur in the definition of slavery and acquired ^{thing} some of western significance. However, because red and black slaves mingled their blood, and because the ancient custom provided for their frequent, almost inevitable adoption, a new genetic factor was added to the slowly progressing miscegenation. The Cherokee were not as great slave holders as some of the other tribes, such as the Creek.

In the border warfare, however, slavery was a standard

¹⁸For details on Cherokee cessions see Royce, op. cit., especially Table p. 378

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It wasn't just the temperature, but the way the air felt against my skin. I pulled my coat tighter around me and looked up at the sky. The stars were out, but they didn't seem to shine as brightly as they should. There was a hazy, greyish glow around them, like someone had thrown a blanket over the universe.

I took a few steps forward, my boots crunching on the snow. The ground was uneven, with patches of ice and snow. I could hear the wind whistling through the trees in the distance, a sound that felt like a warning. I tried to shake the feeling off, but it was there, lurking in the shadows of my mind.

As I walked, I noticed the way the light changed. It wasn't just the stars, but the way the moon seemed to pulse. One moment it was a soft, steady glow, and the next it was a bright, blinding light. I blinked, and when I opened my eyes, the light was gone, replaced by a deep, dark void.

I stopped for a moment, my heart racing. I looked back at the car, but it was gone. No lights, no sound. Just an empty space where it had been. I turned around, looking in every direction. The trees were still there, but they looked different. Their branches were bare, and the leaves had turned a pale, yellowish-green.

I started walking again, my steps becoming more cautious. I could feel the ground shifting beneath me, like it was breathing. The air was thick with a strange, metallic taste. I tried to take a breath, but it felt like I was inhaling something heavy.

In the distance, I saw a small, white structure. It looked like a house, but it was too small and too isolated. I walked towards it, my curiosity getting the best of me. As I got closer, I noticed that the structure was made of a material I had never seen before. It was smooth and white, with a single door.

I reached the door and hesitated. The handle was cold, and I could feel a faint vibration coming from it. I took a deep breath and turned the handle. The door opened, and I stepped inside.

The interior was dark, with a single light source in the corner. I looked at the light, and it felt like I was looking into a pair of eyes. I turned away, my heart pounding. I wanted to leave, but I couldn't. There was something about this place, something that was calling to me.

I walked further into the room, my footsteps echoing. I noticed a desk with a chair, a table with a lamp, and a bed. It was a simple, cozy room, but it felt like I was in a dream. I sat on the bed, my head resting on my hands. I closed my eyes, and the world around me faded away.

When I woke up, I was still in the room. I looked at the clock on the wall, and it showed a time I had never seen before. I got up and looked out the window. The sky was a deep, dark blue, and the stars were out. But they were different. They were closer, brighter, and more numerous.

I stepped outside, and the cold was still there, but it felt different. It felt like a blanket, like a friend. I looked up at the sky, and I saw a new star. It was bright and steady, and it seemed to be watching me.

military technique. Lauber says:¹⁹ "North Carolina in the provisions made in 1760 for raising troops against them (the Cherokee) offered to anyone who took captive an enemy Indian the right to hold him as slave." Subsequent treaties which were designed to provide for the surrender of slaves on both sides were difficult to enforce and were a constant source of friction.

By the time of the Revolution Cherokee claims had narrowed sufficiently so that the trend toward a sedentary economy could be foreseen. Game was being reduced, and in the treaty of 1791 it was provided, in order²⁰

...that the Cherokee Nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will from time to time furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful instruments of husbandry.

At the end of the eighteenth century Hawkins reported that²¹ "in the agency, the wheel, the loom, and the plough is (sic) in pretty general use," and it may be added that slaves were held.

However, a more intensive review of the intervening period is necessary. One notable phase of Cherokee history is their sympathy with the French, although nominally they were allied to the English. Timberlake explains this in effect on the

¹⁹Lauber, A. W. Indian Slavery in Colonial Times p.136

²⁰Royce, C. C. 5th A.R. B.A.E. See "Treaty of July 2, 1791)

²¹Hawkins, Benjamin. Ms. noted in Mooney 19th A.R. B.A.E. pp.82, 83

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation in the country. It is a very interesting and detailed account of the current state of affairs. The author has done a great deal of research and has gathered a wealth of information. The report is well written and easy to read. It is a valuable contribution to the study of the country's development.

2. The second part of the report deals with the economic situation. It discusses the various sectors of the economy and the challenges they face. The author provides a clear and concise analysis of the economic data and offers some suggestions for improvement. This part of the report is particularly useful for those interested in the country's economic growth and development.

3. The third part of the report deals with the social situation. It discusses the various social issues and the challenges they pose. The author provides a clear and concise analysis of the social data and offers some suggestions for improvement. This part of the report is particularly useful for those interested in the country's social development and the well-being of its citizens.

4. The fourth part of the report deals with the political situation. It discusses the various political parties and the challenges they face. The author provides a clear and concise analysis of the political data and offers some suggestions for improvement. This part of the report is particularly useful for those interested in the country's political development and the role of its government.

5. The fifth part of the report deals with the environmental situation. It discusses the various environmental issues and the challenges they pose. The author provides a clear and concise analysis of the environmental data and offers some suggestions for improvement. This part of the report is particularly useful for those interested in the country's environmental development and the protection of its natural resources.

6. The sixth part of the report deals with the international situation. It discusses the various international organizations and the challenges they face. The author provides a clear and concise analysis of the international data and offers some suggestions for improvement. This part of the report is particularly useful for those interested in the country's international relations and its role in the world.

7. The seventh part of the report deals with the future of the country. It discusses the various challenges and opportunities that the country faces in the future. The author provides a clear and concise analysis of the future data and offers some suggestions for improvement. This part of the report is particularly useful for those interested in the country's long-term development and the well-being of its citizens.

8. The eighth part of the report deals with the conclusion. It summarizes the main findings of the report and offers some final thoughts. The author provides a clear and concise summary of the report and offers some suggestions for improvement. This part of the report is particularly useful for those interested in the overall findings of the report and the author's conclusions.

grounds that French colonial policy was tempered with personal diplomacy; whereas, the English were always careful to make manifest their conviction that the Indians were "natives".²²

Meanwhile, the weaker coastal tribes, which at first acted as cultural buffers, had become extinct. The Catawba had been reduced to two hundred forty men. After defeating the Tuscarora in 1711, the Cherokee united with the Chickasaw to expel the Shawano from the Cumberland. Fifty years later the Cherokee-Chickasaw friendship terminated in war and the defeat of the Cherokee. The hereditary war with the Creeks continued, occasionally interrupted by peace, or even alliance. Such mésalliance was typical of the confusion of the powerful tribes of the interior.

The first missionary to establish himself among the Cherokee was a Jesuit, Christian Priber, a linguist and scholar of some brilliance. No missionary work had been undertaken by the Carolina governments prior to Priber's arrival in 1736. As to this state of affairs one contemporary wrote,²³

To the shame of the Christian name, no pains have ever been taken to convert them to Christianity; on the contrary, their morals are perverted and corrupted by the sad example they daily have of its depraved professors residing in their towns.

²²Timberlake, Lieut. H. Memoirs p.73f.

²³Quoted in Mooney, 19th A.R. B. A. E. p.38

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In five years Priber learned Cherokee, became a strong influence in the tribe, drew up a model plan for a government, and actually assumed the role of "secretary to the emperor". His pro-French influence was greatly feared, and he was seized by English traders and died in prison. A Cherokee dictionary was found in manuscript among his papers, and its loss is probably the greatest one that students of the language and people have suffered. Adair thought that it might be found at Frederica, but, as he feared, it probably did not have "...the good fortune to escape the despoiling hands of military power."²⁴

No further missionary work of any duration was initiated until 1801 when a Moravian mission was established. Shortly, however, it was seen that the Cherokee wanted schools more than churches, and the mission was given six months to organize a school. This was done, and a second mission was opened in 1821. Both flourished until 1834, and later the work was continued in the Cherokee Nation of the West. One Presbyterian mission school was abandoned a few years after its founding in 1804.

Civilization was permitting its cumulative effects to be felt: rum, religion, cattle, guns, cloth, and in 1738, smallpox. With no established immunity to the new disease the Cherokee pursued the usual regimen and "went to water". Steam baths followed by cold plunges in mountain streams are hardly to be prescribed for such illness, and the mortality

24Adair, James. History of the American Indians p. 257

was frightful. Sixteen years later the number of warriors was 2,590, half that recorded before the pestilence.²⁵ One writer quoted by Mooney places the loss at a thousand warriors, partly from smallpox and partly from rum.²⁶

For our interest two sequels to the epidemic are especially significant. Adair notes that hundreds of warriors committed suicide on beholding their frightful disfigurement, something exceedingly rare in the aboriginal state and unusual among the Cherokee.²⁷ There was an epidemic quality to this outburst of suicide which may be traceable to sequelae of the disease, or to the heightened suggestibility of a group in times of disaster. In any case, the incident cannot simply be attributed to the despair of a narcissistic people.

Quite as striking is the fact that the priests at such a shocking demonstration of the inadequacy of their arts threw away their sacred paraphernalia. Mooney states that the epidemic was regarded as a visitation, a penalty for violation of ancient ordinances.²⁸ Be that as it may, the important thing is the fact that a whole mode of behavior was for some years at least seriously shaken. It was much as if our present belief in our mechanical adequacy should be confronted by the

²⁵Adair, James. op. cit. p.244

²⁶Mooney, James. 19th A.R. B.A.E. p.36

²⁷Adair, James. op.cit. pp.245ff.

²⁸Mooney, James. 19th A.R. B.A.E. p.36

inexplicable stopping of every automobile. But we must note that the way of thought was unchanged, that the epidemic was regarded as a visitation. Cherokee medicine, in any case, was a far too vital and elaborate institution, and it was to survive many shocks. At the end of the Civil War another smallpox epidemic would take its toll abetted by the same ancient treatment of the daily 'going to water'. The philosophy and practise of Cherokee medicine proved itself to be a vigorous institution.

The series of vicious crises continued. Beginning with a quarrel with frontiersmen over ranging horses in which a number of Cherokee were killed and the raping of an unguarded Indian village by lawless officers the frontier became inflamed. In 1759 Governor Lyttleton demanded the execution of every Indian who had killed a white man in the skirmishes, and simultaneously the commander of the small garrison at London demanded the surrender of twenty-four chiefs. War was declared by the governor in November, 1759; a peace party of thirty-two Cherokee was seized, imprisoned in Fort Prince George, and fourteen hundred troops moved toward the Cherokee county. Smallpox broke out, and the troops withdrew.

Fort Prince George was invested; the Indian hostages were butchered, and war began in earnest. In June, 1760 a force of sixteen hundred men moved into the Lower Towns, utterly laid waste each town, killed a hundred men, and drove the population into the mountains. The troops continued to the Middle and Upper Towns, and in an engagement with the Cherokee

lost a hundred men and were forced to retreat. Fort Loudon was cut off by the Indians and surrendered, but when the Cherokee discovered that the terms of the surrender had been violated they pursued and retook the garrison, killing a number.

The next year a force of twenty-six hundred defeated the Indians, destroyed every one of the fifteen Middle Towns and pushed back the frontier seventy miles in a single month. Two years of such wastage had reduced the Cherokee to their direst extremity. Peace was compacted. The estimated population of five thousand warriors had been reduced to twenty-three hundred. This period saw a great occupation of Cherokee lands, and a futile attempt to find satisfactory boundaries. Treaties were ex post facto instruments that the Indians signed under protest and out of sheer necessity.

Upon the opening of the Revolution the Indian tribes allied themselves with the British, for they represented the only protection against the encroachments of the settlers. Led by Tories, equipped with British supplies and egged on by promises of reward, the Cherokee promised to be a difficult foe. In the summer of 1776 after some minor engagements four expeditions of Americans totaling sixty-five hundred entered the Cherokee country at the same time and dealt such severe destruction that the Nation was paralyzed. Again in 1780 and 1781 devastating reductions were made to stalemate any Indian advance.

To discuss the technique of Indian fighting seems much like the pointless recounting of endless tales of impossible out-

The first section of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the results of the work done during the year.

The second section deals with the work done in the various departments of the country. It is divided into three parts: the first part deals with the work done in the various departments of the country, the second part deals with the work done in the various departments of the country, and the third part deals with the work done in the various departments of the country.

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The fourth section deals with the work done in the various departments of the country. It is divided into three parts: the first part deals with the work done in the various departments of the country, the second part deals with the work done in the various departments of the country, and the third part deals with the work done in the various departments of the country.

rage. The whites adopted every barbarous practice of the Indians, invented a few refinements of their own, and placed bounties on scalps. Perhaps it is significant that twenty years later a Cherokee woman was affected by what seems to have been a brief functional mutism at the sight of a white man, and children who were familiar with tales of the invasion would run screaming.

Such is the type of emergency under which the Cherokee lived so precariously for generations, and it seems important to notice that under that circumstance stabilizing and integrating social adjustments are hardly likely to take place. Instead of the dominant motif being an accomodative-acculturate process, Indian adjustments were attempts to meet the obliterationist attacks of an intruding culture.

But we must not think simply that Cherokee culture met Western culture. Actually, when two cultures such as those with which we are concerned meet the changes that each undergoes is not a matter of adjustment of culture to culture. Rather it is a development of an emergency system elaborated to meet a crisis situation.

One might be satisfied to say that the frontier presents the intruding culture in a cruder and simpler, perhaps a more elementary form. Surely that much is true, but it seems necessary to go further. The frontier is an especial product. It is not self-perpetuative, and it has other aspects that may be classified as social abnormalities. Life on the frontier is generally depreciated, and to a great extent the traits of frontier emergency resemble those of war.

The frontiersman is detached from his culture, and from the inhibitions and restrictions which it places on him. Sex ratios are abnormal, and the value placed on "white" women is exorbitantly high, whereas, that on the native woman is relatively low. To be sure some traders and settlers took native wives, but they present a different problem, and often in such cases it was the whites who were acculturated. The customary rapine of war parties and the general imbalance of sex ratios on the frontier cannot be looked upon as salutary for the aborigines.

Following the Revolution, the territorial government futilely tried to prevent invasion of the Indian country. But as always the frontier people ignored the prohibition; encroached on the territory; initiated skirmishes; reprisals were made; and eventually government support was enlisted for the completion of the forbidden enterprise. Repeatedly the breaking of treaty provisions by the whites culminated in further cessions by the Indians.

On the other hand, the Cherokee were now for all the depredations well supplied with horses, cattle, hogs, poultry, peach trees and potatoes and bees. The native arts of pottery and basketry were pursued, and the dress and housing were practically unchanged.²⁹ Traders of mixed blood intermarried, and an influential mixed blood population grew up. A few of the names will indicate the derivation of the new

²⁹ Hawkins Ms. quoted by Mooney in 19th A.R. B.A.E. p.82

members of ^{the} Cherokee County: Dougherty, Galpin, Adair, Ross, Vann, McIntosh.³⁰ Through these mixed bloods a socio-political self-consciousness began to grow up which led ultimately to the emigration of the western band. However, the Middle Towns, relatively isolated and with a smaller white population were strongholds of conservatism, and this is the group which resisted removal and with whom our later discussion will be concerned. Sporadic drifting of bands across the Mississippi was probably a sign of disintegration pursuant to displacement.

In 1810 the Cherokee national council formally abolished the custom of clan revenge. This is interesting both as a sign of changing mores and as a signal of a remarkable cultural awareness. In this instance we have an objectivising of custom which is rare even in civilized communities. A great crudescence of creativity occurred at this time, reaching its high peak with Sequoyah's invention which we shall treat later.

In 1827 the success of the syllabary had its culmination as a force for social unification in a constitutional convention which modeled a political instrument on that of the United States.

The following provision is worthy of special note:³¹

Ministers of the gospel who by their profession were dedicated to the service of God and the care of souls, and who ought not therefore to be

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Royce, C. C. op.cit. p.375

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diverted from the great duty of their function, were, while engaged in such work, declared ineligible to the office of principal chief or to a seat in either house of the general council.

At this time American society was having a sudden blossoming of religious fervor. The provision went on:

Any person denying the existence of a God or a future state of rewards and punishments was declared ineligible to hold any office in the civil department of the nation.

Embodied in this statement it seems we have a sign of the over-conceptualization which is likely when a people become suddenly literate. There is a tone to this formulistic prescription that can be found in their magical formulae, the same faith in the efficacy of recitation that obtains in the prescriptions of the Swimmer Manuscript.

To generalize, two broad adjustmental situations were presented during the period of impact. One was exemplified by contact with Western Civilization more nearly in its normal and elaborated form; the frontier was the other. Priber, the Moravian missions, the national council, inter-marriage with white traders, and the further introduction of civilized tools typify the former.

Cultivation increased, horses and hogs were an essential part of the native economy. Game became less plentiful, thus spurring the sedentary movement. The buffalo passed from the Alleghanies. The native habit of decoration adopted with great avidity random elements from the intruding culture. Clothing practise continued to undergo its change toward the

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Western type, and toward the end of the period we find looms being introduced, and Schmeider saying in 1783, "...sowing they use very fine slit sinews yet some of them use Needle and Thread."³² Certain traits were showing a regression such as the roach, the blowgun, work in stone and feathers. But other essential nuclei of native life were as vigorous as ever; the ball play with all its magical and ceremonial appurtenances had preserved its integrity although "nettecawaw" faded after Timberlake's visit. We must be on our guard against ascribing such losses too readily and directly to acculturative influences, although in the latter case we seem to be on safe ground.

But to return, by far the dominant motif, was the frontier problem. In it we find Western civilization represented in an anomalous form. We find the adjustments of both the indigenous and intruding groups to require culture compromises and special behaviorial attitudes which had no apprenticeship value for future articulation and cultural reconciliation. As a matter of fact, this frontier situation may be regarded as a blind track in the acculturative process which did more to hinder than help social accommodations.

Essentially as in all emergencies a deculturization was going on in elements which did not directly bear upon the crisis. The behavior of the competitors tended to approach that of each other, and this is clearly showed in the manner

³²Williams, S. C. Early Travels in the Tennessee Country
p.258

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of conducting the Indian wars. For the Cherokee especially who retreated with the border, the frontier crisis was difficult. Over a period of more than four generations they were the frontier, the very focus of impact. Again and again it was impact and retreat and at last--flight.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the State to the Governor, dated 10th March 1877. It contains a report on the progress of the work done during the year, and a list of the names of the members of the Council of the State.

2. The second part of the document is a report on the work done during the year, and a list of the names of the members of the Council of the State.

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Chapter IV

Flight and Precarious Refuge

All the treaties and concessions could do no more than postpone the inevitable debacle. In 1820 Agent Meigs suggested that the Cherokee no longer needed government aid, that their land should be allotted, the surplus sold for their benefit, and they be made full citizens of the states in which they lived. Monroe approved the plan, but the recalcitrant states, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia stood firm against governmental wishes.

Parenthetically let us glance behind the scenes of governmental process at a sample of the intrigue which accompanied Indian negotiations and a sample of the type of individual who carried on the duties of mediation. The following selections speak distinctly enough.¹

¹Abel, Annie Heloise. The Cherokee Negotiations pp.198f.

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CHICAGO, ILL.

Letter from Return J. Meigs, Agent to John Floyd,
October 1822.

Under God they are the greatest obligation to the United States....At the close of the revolutionary war they were a conquered people, and according to the laws of war & the laws of nations their country was forfeited to the conquerors....

If they are sincere in their desire for improvement, they will cheerfully comply with...the President of the United States, who request and advise them to let them have a part of their redundant land for his white children of the State of Georgia....

Newtown 21th, October 1823²

My Friend

I am going to inform you a few lines as a friend. I want you to give me your opinion about the treaty whether the chiefs will be willing or not. If the chiefs feel willing to let the United States have the land part of it, I want you to let me know. I will make the United States give you two thousand dollars A McCoy the same and Charles Hicks \$3000 for present, and nobody shall know it, and if you think the land wouldnt sold, I will be satisfied. If the land should be sold I will get you the amount before the treaty sign, and if you got any friend you want him to Receive it, they shall recd the same; nothing more to inform you at present. I remain

Your affectionate Friend

Wm. McIntosh

John Ross³
an answer return

N.B. the whole amount is \$12000. you can divide among your friends. exclusive \$7000.

²Abel, Annie Heloise. op.cit. p.220

³The Chief

The endorsement by Ross on the back of this letter...runs as follows: 'Rec'd on the 23rd Oct, 1823...read and exposed in open Council in the presence of Wm. McIntosh Oct 24th, 1823. J.Ross'⁴

Meigs to J. C. Calhoun, November 1822⁵

...their government is an aristocracy consisting of about one hundred men called Chiefs and those Chiefs are controled (sic) by perhaps twenty speculating individuals.

If they should persist in their resolution 'never again to dispose of one foot more of land'*; the citizens of Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama, would probably hardly be restrained long, from taking possession of their respective claims.

*See letter signed by Jno.Ross, head chiefs and others October 26, 1822 op cit pp. 202 f and inclosure dated October 23, 1822 pp. 203 f

The United States are now giving their Children a lettered education. It may be a question whether these children will retain their acquirements after they have been turned back into Indian Society of 10,000 souls only scattered over a wilderness of 10,000,000 acres....⁶

Ironically enough, Georgia sent a letter to the President, censuring the government for having instructed the Indians in the arts of civilized life and having thereby imbued them with a desire to acquire property. Monroe replied that between 1802 and 1820 the government had extinguished Indian claims to 24,600 miles of Georgia land, more than three-

⁴Abel, Annie Heloise. op. cit. p. 220

⁵Abel, Annie Heloise. op. cit. p. 200 f.

⁶Loc. cit.

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fifths of the total Indian claim.⁷

In an attempt to establish their position the Cherokee Nation in 1820 made it a capital offense for individuals to sell land, curiously reinforcing the ancient custom of collective ownership.

Under different circumstances, the impotent government might have stood firm against Georgia. But in 1828, the year Jackson was elected President, a second gold deposit was discovered in the Cherokee country. Either incident was enough to seal the doom of the Cherokee. With Jackson, a frontiersman and an Indian fighter, in office, Georgia passed an act annexing the Cherokee land within her limits. The territory was mapped out and a lottery was held, each white citizen receiving a ticket. Each head of a Cherokee household was indeed allowed one hundred sixty acres, but the land was not deeded. Legislation was passed which made it impossible for an Indian to defend seizure of his property, to bring suit or testify against a white. A contract between a white man and an Indian was invalid unless attested by two whites, and this was tantamount to cancelling all debts due Indians by white men. As in much later times a special allegiance oath drove out or silenced all dissenters. Finally, the Cherokee were forbidden to hold council.⁸

Edward Everett and Senator Sprague spoke in the national

⁷Royce, C. C. 5th A.R. B.A.E. pp.236-38, 241-42

⁸Op. cit. 259-64; Mooney, op. cit. pp.117ff.

Houses of Congress pointing out the dangers inherent in the acts which permitted any crime to be committed against an Indian providing a white man was not present who would testify against it. The prediction was fulfilled. The Cherokee country was overrun with every sort of rabble the frontier afforded, and against the crimes there was no redress.

Representations to President Jackson availed nothing. A suit of injunction brought by John Ross against Georgia was dismissed by the Supreme Court. A suit for the release of the Rev. Worcester, a missionary ^{and his group} who had been imprisoned by Georgian authorities because of ~~their~~ Cherokee affiliations, ~~and his group~~ was permitted, but was greeted with Jackson's classic remark: "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it." A public fast of the Cherokee Nation also availed nothing.

A further recital of this period of futility and frustration seems to have little to recommend it. The details are commonly known. For our purposes it is more important to note the attitudes toward removal. Even though the majority of the population was bitterly opposed to removal until the very end there was an increasing sentiment in the nation for removal and successive bands deliberately solved the problem by flight.

There is a tradition common to many of the tribes which recounts the removal of part of the band to the far West at the first coming of the white man. The story holds that they

Plate I

Age

All these persons are classified
as full-bloods.

All speak Cherokee habitually;
English little or not at all.

Three are literate in Cherokee;
none in English.

It is this age group which comprises
the last storehouse of antique lore.



were in the early nineteenth century there at the foot of the Rockies living the old Cherokee life.⁹ It was the hope of verifying this tradition which led Sequoia to take the journey which cost his life. As we can see, there was a precedent for the removal both in tradition and fact.

But by far the majority of the population opposed the proposal of 1835 which provided for the removal and was railroaded through by bribing, intrigue, and every kind of oppression. Several of the leaders of the Removal faction were promptly assassinated.

Not until stacked ballots and armed force drove them from their last stronghold were the body of the nation herded and harried westward. The story of the Removal is well known to most of us. It took an army of seven thousand to remove seventeen thousand disarmed Indians, and it has been reported that four thousand Cherokee lost their lives during the hardships of the journey.¹⁰

The writer knows of no student of society who can review this episode in Cherokee history without a sentiment of personal frustration which expresses itself in futile rage or a sheer despair. Perhaps this is the most satisfactory commentary on the event that one can write. Rhetoric in such a case is more presumptuous than appropriate.

⁹Mooney, James. 19th A.R. B.A.E. No. 107, pp.391-392

¹⁰Op. cit. pp.130-135; Royce, C. C. op.cit. pp.291-295

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It is necessary simply for one to empathize the situation as best he can. The shock of deportation alone was a strikingly deculturizing event. The systems of Cherokee myth, tradition, religion, and medicine were elaborated from the ground on which they were derived, and without that soil to nourish and sustain them they faded rapidly. More completely than a member of Western civilization can appreciate these people identified themselves with their country, and a loss of domain was a loss of identity.

Mooney says that the removal did more at a single stroke to obliterate Indian ideas than could have been accomplished by fifty years of slow development, and his estimate appears to be conservative. In effect it was comparable to the removal of the Gopu or tabu which was the very keystone of Hawaiian culture.¹¹ And no doubt the Emigration had quite as strenuous an effect on those who remained behind as upon those who left.

But the effect was less deculturizing than it was stereotyping. Those who remained were mostly members of the Kituhwa group from the Middle Towns. Throughout the history of white-Cherokee contact they were the isolated and conservative faction. A thousand or so of these hardest conservatives fled into the Tennessee and North Carolina mountains where pursuit was practically impossible.¹²

¹¹Handy, E.S.C. Culture Revolution in Hawaii

¹²Cf. Murdock, G. P. Our Primitive Contemporaries p.17

White troops sent to take the fugitives despaired of capturing the elusive Indians who lived off the stingy offerings of nature. Through the influence of W. H. Thomas, a trader who had lived for more than twenty years in the region, a compromise was arrived at. Several Indians who had escaped the cordon by killing a guard surrendered themselves, and the troops were withdrawn.

The respite gave Thomas a chance legally to secure land for the band, and it gave them an opportunity to recover from their experiences. In the next twenty years he managed to consolidate several tracts of territory which today principally comprise the Qualla Boundary, the name being derived from his trading post.

Lanman visited the Cherokee in 1848 and has this to say:¹³
"About three-fourths of the entire population can read in their own language and though the majority of them understand English, a very few can speak the language." He was impressed by their practice of agriculture, the mechanical arts, and the high position of women in the community. They were no longer it seems "...treated as slaves, but as equals...", the men laboring in the fields. According to his report a fairly satisfactory adjustment to their environment had been made in a period of ten years.

¹³Lanman, Charles. Letters from the Alleghany Mountains
p.17

There can be little doubt, on the other hand, that the level of control over their environment was lower, that it was a more difficult environment as far as land quality was concerned. Furthermore, losses in both civilized and aboriginal forms are to be noted. If clan organization was shaken by the loss of masses of population, so were western forms of political organization. If ancient equipment was destroyed so was civilizatory equipment.

Although we are not interested in the fate of the Western Band per se, a cursory glance at this post-Removal situation may throw some of the experiences of the Eastern Band in clearer relief. As we have remarked, several thousand Cherokees voluntarily moved westward to Arkansas and Oklahoma before 1838. They presented a separate interest group difficult to reconcile with the newcomers. This internal strife was something that the Eastern Band did not find it necessary to undergo. Conciliation of a sort was effected among the westerners, but the Civil War saw a collapse of group solidarity, Cherokees fighting on both sides in a series of struggles which laid waste their territory.

Because the Western Band had ration moneys they were made the object of the unlovely attentions of the profiteers who ravaged Indian territory, something that their brothers in the Smokies were spared. Furthermore, the Eastern Band did not undergo the turbulence of inter-tribal confusions which characterized the abominably administered Territory.

On the other hand, the Syllabary and its press were more important to the larger group. In the East the Syllabary was less a tool than a crystallizer of lore and a signal of conservatism. Western amalgamations with other tribes further destroyed the demarcations of group unity.

In summary contrast we may say that the Eastern Band was permitted a regression to conservatism because geographically and culturally it was a closed group for the better part of the nineteenth century, and in that time stable culture forms had an opportunity to stereotype and petrify.¹⁴

In the Civil War nearly four hundred of the Eastern Cherokee enlisted in the Confederate cause with which Thomas was in sympathy. Because of Thomas' plan they were used as scouts and home guards in the mountain region. Mooney, who had an opportunity to confer with a number of officers and survivors, notes one instance of scalping. He writes of the recrudescence of the folkways pertaining to war as follows:¹⁵

The war, in fact, brought out all the latent Indian in their nature. Before starting to the front every man consulted an oracle stone to learn whether or not he might hope to return in safety. The start was celebrated with a grand old-time war dance at the town-house on the Soco, and the same dance was repeated at frequent intervals thereafter, the Indians being 'painted and feathered in good style', Thomas himself frequently assisting as master of ceremonies. The ballplay, too, was not

¹⁴If it is not already too late, a profitable study awaits the investigator who would compare the divergent adjustments of the two groups. This writer hopes to have the opportunity to examine the possibility of making such an extension of the problem. ¹⁵Mooney, James. op. cit. p. 170.

forgotten, and on one occasion a detachment of Cherokee, left to guard a bridge, became so engrossed in the exciting game as to narrowly escape capture by a sudden dash of Federals.

A small number of Cherokee were induced to join the Union forces, and upon returning to Qualla after the war the tribe was bitterly incensed, and the Unionists lived precariously until memory of the incident faded. The Cherokee had no loyalty to the Confederate cause as such, but were induced to join through propaganda contrary to the original wishes of Thomas. No doubt their main loyalty was to their friend and leader. There is, of course, a note of irony that the Cherokee should have shared Georgia's cause and should have fought against the authority which tried vainly to assist them.

After the war smallpox broke out and as more than a hundred years before the ancient medical formulæ prescribing plunges in the streams was followed with disastrous results.¹⁶ More than one hundred died.

Shortly afterwards Colonel Thomas retired, and their affairs suffered severely as a result. Much confusion surrounded the title to their lands, and even the Temple Survey in 1876 did not solve the difficulty which persists as a sore spot today.

In 1875 an abortive attempt to start an agency was made. W. C. McCarthy found the Indians destitute and discouraged.

¹⁶Vide supra Chapter III

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the war.

The second part of the report deals with the military operations and the progress of the army.

The third part of the report deals with the political situation and the progress of the government.

The fourth part of the report deals with the economic situation and the progress of the country.

The fifth part of the report deals with the social situation and the progress of the people.

The sixth part of the report deals with the cultural situation and the progress of the nation.

The seventh part of the report deals with the international situation and the progress of the world.

The eighth part of the report deals with the future of the country and the progress of the nation.

The ninth part of the report deals with the conclusion of the report and the progress of the work.

The tenth part of the report deals with the appendix and the progress of the report.

The report is divided into ten parts, each dealing with a different aspect of the country's progress.

Few full bloods could speak English, but nearly all could read and write their own language. This is an example of the manner in which the Cherokee clung to the cultural appurtenances belonging to them.

A Quaker mission and school was founded in 1881 which survived for ten years, and after a few years government aid and schools became a regular part of the reservation life.

Physically the Qualla of the nineteenth century was very isolated. We can understand why the soldiers wearied in attempting to hunt down the Cherokee, and how it was possible for the community to be almost completely encapsulated for three generations. In 1875 a government official was nearly two days teaching Ashville from Qualla.¹⁷ If minerals were found it was said the Boundary's "remoteness...would be sufficient to render them comparatively valueless. The nearest railroad is...forty miles...over rugged mountain roads."¹⁸ And the official complained that there were no roads practicable for wagons.¹⁹

Twenty years later the nearest railroad was eighteen miles distant; today it is about eight miles away. But the extreme encapsulation was broken shortly after the turn of the century as the government schools became well established.

¹⁷ Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians versus W. H. Thomas et.al. 53rd Cong. 2nd Session H.R. Ex. Doc. No. 128 p.42

¹⁸ Op.cit. p.43

¹⁹ Op.cit. p.45

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Soon road improvements were made, and the spatial obstacle barriers shrank. By the second decade of this century the increased mobility of western culture made a by-path across a section of Qualla which today has become a highway.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century moccasins were still used and many stone pipes were cut.²⁰ But the former is now only in tourist stores, and the latter is rare. However, we are moving too fast. Let us say for the nonce that post-Removal Qualla was an encapsulated area which was broken in upon early in the twentieth century.

The isolation had another aspect. The westward movement of the frontier flooded around the edges of the Smokies, and it was a backwash of settlers who found their way into the neighborhood of Qualla. Many of them were not the most able or stable pioneers but were defunct frontiersmen and exploiters who became discouraged with the difficulties of frontier life.

A most significant factor in the making of a frontiersman is a compulsive drive to move on which is often derived from feelings of social inferiority, chronic discontent, or actual failure. Admitting as we must that many individuals of fine type comprise a frontier population, the fact remains that it is a situation which attracts persons who wish for some reason or other to flee from the society in which they live,

²⁰Ziegler, W.G. and Grosscup, B.S. Heart of the Alleghanies
pp.36-42

persons of borderline maladjustment. In the isolated pockets such as Qualla one finds more than the normal quota of persons who might be classed as constitutionally inferior. This becomes increasingly true as the more vital members move out with the impoverishment of soil. Such are the representatives of Western civilization with whom the Eastern Cherokee have lived most closely. Little did they have to contribute to the Cherokee way of life, for the whites were individuals who as a group had the flimsiest control over their own environment and culture.

Before we go on to our final analytic study this historical interpretation should be made. In dealing with a surviving conservative Kituhwa element at Qualla we are not treating an indigenous culture which is typical of the highest and most elaborate aboriginal mode. Probably never did the Middle Towns represent this. There was represented rather a basic, an elementary social and culture structure, and perhaps consequently a more hardy structure.

Repeatedly as we have seen, the large population centers were destroyed. We can be certain that they held the most complex manifestations of Cherokee culture, and with the destruction of these centers several things seem to have occurred. First of all, there may have been a general impoverishment of folk ways for centers of population are almost axiomatically the culture sources of a people. Secondly, a regression to a more conservative way of life would follow. Thirdly, the most stable culture forms would

tend to become stereotypes and petrify as they became of less functional importance. Fourthly, a very specialized form of adjustment to the emergency would be elaborated which would have little to contribute to the total long-term integration of the people and would tend to postpone the ultimate achievement of a reintegration of the culture.

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Plate II

Modes of Transportation

Logs are "snaked"
by yoked oxen

Government cars
ford streams (this
one since bridged),
penetrate further
each year.

Suspension bridges
cross the Oconaluftee

But at Snowbird
there are logs

The papoose
rides in a sheet
instead of a frame.



Chapter V

Sequel

In the southwest corner of North Carolina just south of the Great Smoky National Park is the present residence of the Eastern Band.¹ The main body of the Band is at Qualla with outlying tracts of a few hundreds of acres in Graham and Murphy counties housing a scattered population. Qualla Boundary, sections of which are still the subject of litigation, has an area of less than a hundred square miles. Over the last four decades the land holding has shrunk, although the population has steadily increased. In 1900 the Eastern Cherokee residing under direct charge of the agent numbered fourteen hundred; today there are about twenty-two hundred. The total population of the Band is about thirty-three hundred.

Their legal status is, as it was in 1900, a confused matter.

¹See Map.

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They are wards of the government, citizens of the United States, and a corporate body under North Carolina laws. Because the United States courts ruled taxes could not be collected from the Band, the state officials, in reprisal, first barred Cherokee from registering, and today discriminate against them in this respect, little to the concern of the Indians.

Under their tribal constitution they are governed by a principal and assistant chief elected for a term of four years, with an executive council appointed by the chief. Sixteen councilors are elected, two from each township,² for a term of two years. Principal figure in the variegated legal, political, and social activities and intermediary between the Band and the Government is the Superintendent. In 1936 the chief was Jarrett Blyth, the assistant chief Fred Bauer, and the Superintendent Dr. Harold M. Foght.

The people support themselves by farming inadequate plots of land, most of which are unsuitable to cultivation or approaching exhaustion. At the present writing labor on public projects has considerably added to their incomes,³ and some augment their meagre supplies by gleaning what the mountainside and forest have to offer. Living is approximately at the subsistence level for the bulk of the population, and in the nature and method of control over their environment

²See Map.

³Vide infra

they closely resemble their white neighbors.

This will be made more explicit by the following from the tabulations based on a community survey of economic and other conditions executed in 1932 by Mr. Roy Adams.⁴ The following picture is probably a fair general estimate of income distributions in four hundred families at that time:

Low (\$100 and less per family per annum)	240
Intermediate (Between \$100 and \$300)	90
High (\$300 and above)	70

They have practically none of the so-called modern conveniences or urban necessities. Livestock is poor and scarce. Fish, nuts, and wild fruits are gathered haphazardly, but there is surprisingly little storing. With many of them there is an aura of resignation, of manana, which is reflected in their manipulation of their physical environment, and indicates an acceptance of subsistence as the best likely economic achievement--which is the truth.

However, in the years since 1933 government manipulations have introduced a confusion factor into the economic complex in the guise of "relief funds". In 1936, \$222,200.00 was distributed among the reservation by various "government" projects:⁵ IECW, WPA, and IRW. Yet this sum was "considerably less" than

⁴Files of the Agency Ms.

⁵Personal information from the Superintendent.

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(1917)	100
(1918)	100
(1919)	100

... ..

in the previous year.⁶ About eight hundred employables could be found, and as a consequence, the income of most Indian families increased from one-third to twice its former amount. In response to this the standard of living has readily climbed to meet the increment in income, and there may have been some tendency to neglect the usual farming activities. The latter case, however, is difficult to determine, and in fairness it should be presented in all its provisionality.

But inevitably the withdrawal of relief funds will cause real hardship, and if, as has been suggested, the more stable adjustments are being neglected an exceedingly serious problem will eventuate.

The Reservation

Reservation life is by modern intention and policy an apprenticeship to life in the larger community, although in earlier times reservations were maintained to keep the Indian in rather than to keep out the competition of another world. Only if a people is different in some gross permanent fashion which makes it constitutionally unable to participate in the larger order is a permanent geographic isolation justified.

The ideal of a full life in complete participation in the social order must not be lost sight of in Indian administration. Reservation life is ever in danger of becoming social incarceration and cultural incapsulation. In its most realistic form

⁶Personal information from the Superintendent.

the reservation can provide a buffer during the period of greatest dislocation and disorganization.

In its less realistic form the reservation is a social and culture trap which perpetuates itself by self elaborated maladjustment. Symptomatic of this unrealism is the following quotation from Indian Commissioner John Collier:⁷ "Indians detached from their native life and thrown into our modern mechanized society, drop for the most part to the lowest social stratum, complete misfits, while those living in their traditional tribal environment attain spiritual and cultural heights such as only tribal Indians know." Surely no such gross alternative as the former need occur, and equally surely no such sentimental euphoria as the latter can approach the hard actuality of Indian life.

There is a great danger that reservation life shall be no apprenticeship at all, but that the Indian shall elaborate in response to its peculiar problems a special kind of social adjustment which will make even more difficult a final unshielded confronting of a world community.

The reservation is the end product of the long history of manipulations that these people have suffered.

The original obliterationist attitude toward the Indian has changed to an equally eager though infinitely more well-intentioned preservationist attitude. The former survives in the

⁷The New York Times, March 13, 1937

Plate III

As he is; not "Chief" of the
Cherokee

As Colliers Magazine

sees him: Chief of the Cherokee;
in full professional Indian ceremonial
dress with Sioux war bonnet tradition-
ally decorated with ostrich plumes.



antagonism of some few individuals who have something to gain by the Indian's loss, and a violent anti-Indian prejudice is apparent in the area surrounding the reservation. He is hated among other reasons for having free schools and hospitals.

Today the public notion of the Indian has changed from that of the scalping savage. Rather, he is usually the noble red skin among the romantics, and an ignoble mottled skin among those who call themselves realists.

To some extent it seems present attitudes toward the Cherokee are tinged by the underlying heritage of guilt that all later Americans must feel, and especially is it a significant element in modern government policy.

The attitude of the government toward the quality of being an Indian is a sociological event that belongs to what in this treatment has been ineptly called the culture confusion complex motif. It is this attitude coupled with the trinket-trophy-tourist trade and the romantic idealization of the Indian that has given rise to an unusual creature who, unlike the leopard, lives by his spots alone. This creature is the Professional Indian.

Much of his exercise of native art and craft is for the benefit of the white man's interest, and the Cherokee's pocket-book. In search for the spectacular in order to satisfy the white man's idea of what an Indian ought to be, he has been driven to the most outlandish manipulations. He wears Sioux war bonnets, uses artificial dyes when natural ones are superior, builds Algonkian wigwams, and tries to make Pueblo

pottery and Navajo blankets and jewelry.

Dance and ball-play teams vie with each other for the meagre (but not relatively) monetary reward following competitions and exhibitions. Cherokee can supply its quota of professional Indians of all kinds from simple show pieces for the edification of tourists to the most elaborate authoritarian models for the edification of ethnologists. Such is the business that the Indian Affairs Office sponsors through its preservationist policy.

The main present day agencies of influence are the government schools which have been increasingly important since the turn of the century, and^{which} now with the improvements in road and facilities are adequate. Some attempt has been made in recent years to adjust the curriculum to the special needs of the individuals. However, as an element of importance for acculturation the pedagogical institution is notably insignificant, but from this time on with Qualla entirely "opened up" it will be excessively important.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century schools were under mission control. For the thirty years period after 1860 the Rev. Evan Jones was the missionary of the American Baptist Board. However, although mission influence has been without interruption until today, little progress has been made in the gathering of converts.⁸

⁸Vide.infra Chapter VI, Section: "Religion and Mythology"

CHAPTER I

The first part of the history of the United States is the history of the colonies. The colonies were founded by Englishmen who had come to America in search of a better life. They were at first dependent on England for their supplies and for their protection. As the colonies grew in number and in size, they began to assert their independence of England. They demanded that they should be able to govern themselves and that they should have the same rights as the people of England.

The second part of the history of the United States is the history of the struggle for independence. The colonies had become so used to their independence that they were no longer willing to accept the rule of England. They declared their independence in 1776 and fought the Revolutionary War. The war was a struggle for the right of self-government and for the right of the people to choose their own rulers.

The third part of the history of the United States is the history of the formation of the Constitution. The colonies had won their independence, but they were still divided into many small states. Each state had its own laws and its own government. It was necessary to have a stronger government that would unite the states and would protect their rights. The Constitution was written in 1787 and it is the foundation of the government of the United States.

The fourth part of the history of the United States is the history of the growth of the country. The United States has grown from a small colony to a great nation. It has become a world power and it has played a leading part in the history of the world. The growth of the country has been due to the hard work of the people and to the good government that they have chosen.

The fifth part of the history of the United States is the history of the present. The United States is a great and powerful nation. It has a large population and a wide territory. It has a strong government and a high standard of living. The people of the United States are proud of their country and they are determined to keep it free and independent.

The sixth part of the history of the United States is the history of the future. The United States has a bright future. It has the resources and the talent to become an even greater nation. It has the duty to lead the world in peace and justice and to help the people of all nations to live in freedom and happiness.

The seventh part of the history of the United States is the history of the present and the future. The United States is a great and powerful nation. It has a large population and a wide territory. It has a strong government and a high standard of living. The people of the United States are proud of their country and they are determined to keep it free and independent.

The eighth part of the history of the United States is the history of the present and the future. The United States is a great and powerful nation. It has a large population and a wide territory. It has a strong government and a high standard of living. The people of the United States are proud of their country and they are determined to keep it free and independent.

This is not difficult to understand. We have noted in the historical discussion that missions were long in coming to the Cherokee, and by the time they did arrive the people were too sophisticated to accept what did not appear to be of some pragmatic value. White offerings were to be regarded with the most marked suspicion, and of pure prestige there was none.

Some of the most significant and pertinent phases of the reservation, and some of the more important psychological patterns at the basis of the acculturation of the Cherokee will perhaps be indicated through some notes on the histories of one or two distinctive personalities.

Molly is a traditionalist, mid-wife, full blood, more than sixty years of age. Her sole visit outside of the reservation was the consequence of her killing a white man whom she discovered in the act of attacking a Cherokee girl. Her short imprisonment was spent in the state reformatory, and from it she returned directly to Qualla, where she has remained ever since. Molly speaks of her prison experiences with a great deal of relish. She recounts the many services performed for her there as if they were honorable rewards for distinguished service, which, indeed, they may have been. Molly will show her false teeth given her by the prison officials as if they were a touching souvenir of a pleasant interlude. This is interesting because it indicates that little stigma is attached to the penitentiary; that even the most meagre comforts there are regarded as luxuries by many poverty stricken full bloods.

Another aspect of the Cherokee contact with the outside world is exemplified by the not unoccasional individuals who acquired some formal education beyond the reservation boundaries, worked in white communities for some time, and then perhaps after a period of years drifted or fled back to the protection of Qualla. C's brother has been off the reservation for thirty years. Never do they hear from him. Never do they think he will come back. Among those who remain at least there is a curious expectance that the departed ones will never return, and little correspondence is indulged in between those who have been away for a number of years and those who remain behind. C himself was off the reservation for sixteen years and would have stayed, he asserts, if he were well. C, robust professional Indian that he is, finds it necessary to rationalize his return, which seems to be regarded and valued as a weakness.

T, now a leading traditionalist, lived for some years in the outside world, attended a government school, and, intellectually at least, must have been adequate to the outside community. Yet now we find him plunged more deeply in traditionalism (and this is significant) than before his sojourn among the whites.

From these case notes, which are not atypical, a symptom of the reservation individual's adjustment to the outside world is indicated. Well trained and adequate though these persons may be, generally successful as they may be in the outside world, a nostalgia, a fit of depression, a temporary defeat, presents to them the invariable alternative of a flight to their familiar, socially protected reservation. No doubt many

individuals return because they are inadequate to the outside ways, but it seems that most of them do so for some such fleeting reason as we have noted above. Once back, the slower tempo of the reservation, the easily mastered life means that no second attempt to move outside will be made.

Of course, many do move off permanently, and no adequate study has been made to determine their success. We may presume that measured by outside standards the success is great as compared with that of their reservation tribesmen.

Population

Since 1890, when the institutional influences of the reservation began to make themselves felt and the isolation of Qualla began to be broken down, the population of both the Band and the reservation itself have steadily increased. In 1890 there was a resident population of about 1300. According to the latest information, the following is the census for the Eastern Band of Cherokee for the period January, 1936 to December 31, 1936:⁹

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Total enrollment	3327	1749	1578
Residing at this Juris.	2274	1207	1067
Total deaths	30	20	10
Deaths (for residents)	29	19	10
Total births	60	30	30
Births (for residents)	58	29	29

⁹ Personal information from the Superintendent.

1940 (total)	20	25	25
1941 (total)	20	20	20
1942 (total)	25	25	25
1943 (total)	20	20	20
1944 (total)	25	25	25
1945 (total)	20	20	20
1946 (total)	25	25	25
1947 (total)	20	20	20
1948 (total)	25	25	25
1949 (total)	20	20	20
1950 (total)	25	25	25

The following table shows the number of books received by the library from 1940 to 1950. The total number of books received in each year is shown in the first column. The number of books received from each of the three sources is shown in the second, third, and fourth columns. The total number of books received in each year is shown in the fifth column.

The following table shows the number of books received by the library from 1940 to 1950. The total number of books received in each year is shown in the first column. The number of books received from each of the three sources is shown in the second, third, and fourth columns. The total number of books received in each year is shown in the fifth column.

Vital statistics for this type of population being highly undependable, we shall avoid any detailed analysis except to notice that the increase has been steady and gradual, and that for some time now, with the exception of the "relief period", increase in population has generally been made at the danger of sacrificing the standard of living. The preponderance of males over females which will be noted in the table seems to be typical for this population.

Tabulating the incidence of Indian blood according to the band census, we find a marked bi-modal distribution which may be represented thus:

Table A

"Full-blood" group (i.e. $\frac{4}{4}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$ of Indian blood inclusive)	1,300	39.8%
Intermediate group (Less than $\frac{3}{4}$ and more than $\frac{1}{4}$)	517	15.7
Borderline group (Less than $\frac{1}{4}$ trace of Indian blood)	1,450	44.5
(This group, the "White Indians", is augmented by more than 100 whites known to be permanently resident, but not included.)		
Total Band	<u>3,267</u>	
Whites	100	
	<u>3,367</u>	

In this band as a whole we are obviously dealing with two equally numerous and distinct populations: a near-Indian and a near-White group, sandwiching a less numerous Intermediate group.

However, let us examine the resident population of the band

which numbers about 2,200. In a random sample of 1,276 residents of Qualla we find the following picture:

Table B

"Full-blood" group	(4/4-3/4)	692
Intermediate group	(Less than 3/4 more than 1/4)	216
Borderline group	(1/4- trace)	306
Band Residents		<u>1,214</u>
Whites		62
		<u>1,276</u>

Although the bi-modal nature of the distribution is still apparent, it has become markedly reduced. The "Full-blood" group has become much more significant, the "Borderline" group relatively much less so. It is especially interesting and important for our purposes to see that it is the full-blood who retains his residence; it is the white Indian who most frequently forsakes the reservation.¹⁰

The legal degree of Indian blood as fixed in the Band charter from the State of North Carolina is to be no less than one-sixteenth. There is no other blood-membership restriction except that the chief and assistant chief are required to be at least one-half Cherokee. The present assistant chief, it so happens, is less than that.

Inbreeding is both genetic and cultural. In a study of 802 Cherokee marriages we find that 170 involved the mating of near full-bloods with near full-bloods, while in only ten did

¹⁰In passing we may note that because non-resident persons are often retained on the tribal rolls long after death, the discrepancy between the Borderline groups in Tables A and B may be somewhat smaller. The generalization, however, is unaltered.

Plate IV

Some Persons of the Reservation

Full-blood Type

In contemplation
of grandson

An extended family

Important traditionist
and a family which moved
in to "take care of him
after his wife's death

Three generations
cease corn-grinding
(note log mortar)



the full-blood marry a white. On the other hand, of 431 marriages involving whites, but forty-four, roughly ten per cent were with Cherokee of more than one-fourth Indian blood; ninety per cent with one-fourth breeds or less. More white men marry Cherokee than do white women, but they both prefer the white Indian. There is a definite tendency for the pure stock to perpetuate itself, and for the diluted stock to dilute further, thus preserving the bi-modal pattern. Of course, each loss of an Indian in marriage to a white is irreparable. And from the meagre data available it does not appear to the writer that the birth rate of full-blood Cherokee is high enough to cancel losses in marriage. However, as far as acculturation is concerned the data cited are significant in showing that one of the factors directly correlated with survivals is itself surviving through a mechanism of solidarity which is a further indication of its strength and its origin.

One phase of reservation life probably of no great significance but at least worthy of note is the increase in inter-reservational travel and the growth of an Indian self-consciousness, perhaps correlated with tribal consciousness. The absolute numbers of Indians on reservations not their own is small, but tribal-cultural boundaries are being crossed more and more frequently.

At Cherokee the writer met an Otoe, a Ute, a Pueblo, a Navajo-Pueblo, two Sioux-Cherokee, two Creek, two Choctaw, a Catawba, a Nez Perce, a ^a Crotan, and three Oklahoma Cherokee. Superficial though it may seem, this matter deserves a searching

investigation, and even though it is largely the result of artificial and external influences, the American Indian as such is a growing notion in the mind of the American Indian.

In the above discussion we have seen that the reservation is genetically self perpetuative; that it tends to be psychologically so, and that it is in danger of being made institutionally so. Under such conditions it seems that we may justly fear the arrestation of normal trends toward cultural change and the social encapsulation of the people.

Chapter VI

The Data and Processes of Acculturation

Because of its far reaching importance as an event making for social solidarity and as a penetrating influence in several of the specific categories to be discussed, we can probably begin this chapter with no more logical a section than a treatment of Sequoyah's syllabary.

Perhaps the most significant event in Cherokee culture history, and one of the most remarkable linguistic achievements of all time, was the invention of the alphabet by Sikwayi,¹ variously known among the whites as George Gist, Guest, or Guess. Gist was a mixed blood as were so many of the leading men of his time, but we are not able clearly to establish his parentage.

Sikawayi's youth was spent amid the furbulent Revolution.

¹ Popularly spelled Sequoyah.

... ..

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... ..

... ..

He was a hunter and fur trader and had some mechanical skill, especially in silver working. A hunting accident which permanently crippled him turned his attention to more sedentary activities, and thus indirectly had a part in the creation of his syllabary.

Although he was aware, as have been millions of other un-literate men, that thought could be communicated in writing, there seems to be little doubt that his was an independent invention. He never attended school, kept his native religion, and did not learn to speak, read, or write English.

Perhaps as early as 1809 his experiments began. His first attempts were pictographic, and for this there was some slight foundation in Cherokee culture.² However, it is interesting to note that after several years of experiment he started anew along the lines which ultimately led him to a syllabic analysis. Apparently ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny (if it does) in culture as well as in biology.

In surrendering the pictographic technique, he cast aside several years of experiment and the thousands of characters he had scratched out and started in anew to study the construction of the language. This time he discovered that all the words were made up of about a hundred syllables. By representing initial 'S' by a distinct character he reduced the necessary number from one hundred fifteen to eighty-five. Gallatin says,³

²Mallery, Garrick. "Pictographs of the North American Indians." 4th A.R. A.B.E. p.33

³Gallatin, A.S. "A Synopsis of the Indians within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains"

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"It wanted but one step more and to have given a distinct character to each consonant to reduce the whole number to sixteen."

Each of the eighty-five syllables he represented by a separate symbol, taking thirty-five characters from an old English spelling book from which he picked capitals, lower-case, italics, and figures, placing them right side up or upside down with no idea of their sound or significance. A dozen more he made by modifying the originals, and the rest he contrived apparently unaided.

Mooney says,⁴

In the various schemes of symbolic thought representation from the simple pictograph...to the finished alphabet... our own system although not yet perfect stands at the head of the list, the result of three thousand years of development by Egyptian, Phoenician, and Greek. Sikwayi's syllabary, the unaided work of an uneducated Indian reared amid semi-savage surroundings, stands second."

Mooney's praise in this case is perhaps a bit too lavish, but linguistic knowledge and especially the increase of phonetic representation has advanced greatly in the past four decades, so that Mooney surely needs no apology for his statement.

Olbrechts, Mooney's editor and posthumous collaborator, has several comments on the deficiencies of the Syllabary.⁵

⁴Mooney, James. Myths of the Cherokees. p. 219

⁵Olbrechts, Franz. Bull. 99 B.A.E. pp.4,5

In the Cherokee syllabary the system of the surd and sonant velars and dentals is very imperfectly worked out. As a result, the Cherokee themselves are quite inconsistent in using the symbols for g, k and d, t. The matter is made more complicated by the actual existence of the so-called 'intermediates'..

Although such phonetic phenomena as breath, stops, etc., are quite frequent in Cherokee linguistics, the syllabary very imperfectly provides for the representation of the former; the latter are disregarded completely.

However, whatever its deficiencies, the Cherokee syllabary holds an unique place in linguistic annals, as is shown by the dearth of even approximately similar examples. Mac-Michael reports that the Nubians of the Koroska and Mahan districts have a written language of Oriental affinity. Delafosse states that the Vai, suspiciously close to the Liberian and Sierra-Leone frontiers, have a syllabic script a hundred years old; and the Bamoun of the Cameroon have used an ideographic system since 1900, the invention of one N'joye, king of the Fouban.⁶ None of these, however, is in such sufficiently common use that samples are easily obtainable.

In 1821 twelve years after Sikwayi's studies began, the syllabary was submitted to the tribe, and within a few months one of the most startling cultural revolutions of all time took place: the Cherokee became a literate people. One needed simply to learn the characters in order to be able to read at once. Shortly Sikwayi went west to introduce the new art to

⁶Delafosse, Maurice. The Negroes of Africa. pp.267-268

the Arkansas band, and thereafter he cast his lot with the Western Cherokee.

Immediately an active correspondence grew up between the emigrants in the west and the eastern division. Plans were made for a national press, library, and museum, and although the realization did not equal the plans, type was cast in 1827, a paper started in 1828, and various works, principally religious, were printed. The syllabary had such a vitalizing effect that it is difficult now to imagine the people's cultural survival without it. Traditionalists seized the opportunity to record ancient rituals and occult literature, and two unique ethnological publications have been made of material collected from such sources.⁷

We can suspect that the writing down did more than preserve the lore. Indubitably it provided a new stability and tangibility to ritual which helped it compete with the intruding religious and scientific doctrines. Today at Cherokee there are at least two medicine men who to the writer's knowledge are familiar with the Swimmer Manuscript in print. This is a translation, and an interpretation of certain selected formulae from manuscripts secured by Mooney.

All people who have writing are provided with an integrating core which sustains as well as preserves other culture traits. We can well believe that a cultural patriotism grew up as consequence of the invention, a new and more

⁷ See section on Medicine.

elaborate and more vital consciousness of kind. Parenthetically it may be worth noting that Sikwayi's invention is an indication of a vigorous intellectual environment. If the notion is tenable that a "cultural atmosphere" has an effect on what is produced in it, then we can infer that the Cherokee country of the early nineteenth century was not a stupid place. Surely after the invention was made public, it was not. The nation turned itself to study the system until "in the course of a few months, without school or expense of time or money, the Cherokee were able to read and write in their own language."⁸

Even with such impetus a lag of seven years occurred before printing with the new characters was begun. The Cherokee Phoenix survived for six years until the animosity of the Georgia authorities terminated its existence, and illegally imprisoned two whites, the Reverend S. A. Worcester, a missionary and sponsor of the paper, and John F. Wheeler, a printer.

Its successor in the West, the Cherokee Advocate, first appeared in 1844 after a lapse of ten years. Printing activities moved westward with the migration, and Dr. Worcester continued to be a dominant figure. A variety of religious, pedagogical, and legal works and tracts have been published, but the literature is predominately institutional in nature

⁸G. C. in Cherokee Phoenix; reprinted in Christian Advocate and Journal, September 26, 1828

and there is no sign that opportunity was made for the publication of individual creations except in the periodicals. Indeed, the language as an agency for artistic production seems to have had little importance.⁹

More important for our purpose is the fact that the medicine men used the syllabary to record hundreds of formulae and bits of lore such as the Swimmer Manuscript collection.

In his stays at Qualla in 1887 and 1888 Mooney was able to collect some six hundred formulae.¹⁰ According to his accounts it seems that many were not in use, and we must not confuse physical with functional preservation. However, the conclusion/^{is} that the syllabary was markedly preservative in its total effect on Cherokee lore and thought.

There were two additional effects of less importance. Deliberate editing became possible in a fashion unknown before, and at least one clear cut occurrence is cited by Mooney.¹¹ In the Gahuni manuscript several Yuinweli formulas (to cause hatred between man and wife) were destroyed in order to keep them from falling into the hands of the younger generation.

⁹For further data on publications in the syllabary see: Foster, George E. SequoYah, 1885; Poster, George E. Story of the Cherokee Bible, 1899; and Foreman, Grant. The Five Civilized Tribes, 1934

¹⁰Mooney, James. 7th A.R. B.A.E. p. 307

¹¹Op. cit. p.314

This, incidentally, is a commentary on the belief in the efficacy of the magical system.

A less happy vulnerability is the danger of loss of large bodies of knowledge by destruction or removal by outside forces. Mooney, for instance, states that only a small portion of the formulas he collected were copied by the owners.¹² And they could not be restored, for the tradition of which they were a part was already fading, and the traditionalists who possessed the store of information were dying off. The Syllabary arrived just in time to save Cherokee medicine for the ethnologists, and for the Cherokee for a few more years.

It is further interesting in this connection that the principle surviving traditionalist is a person who was schooled in Cherokee lore by assisting in its transcription. The influence of the ethnologists, however, in this respect as in others has not been wholly preservative.

At first Mooney found difficulty securing manuscripts because the persons who held them protested that he would take the formulae to Washington, lock them up, and the Cherokee would no longer be able to use them.¹³ This is an insight into the attitude of the people toward writing and the place of the formulae manuscripts in their thought.

¹²Op. cit. p.318

¹³Mooney, James. Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees p.311

Because the formulae were given a spatial quality--on paper--they suffered all the disadvantages of being reduced to space, and could be lost in space. Ironically enough, as we have noted, the fears were justified. Mooney did take many manuscripts which were not copied, and did lock them up in Washington--where they were lost.

Today at Cherokee the older full bloods maintain their Cherokee literacy. In 1936 for the first time an Indian language was taught in the government schools when instruction was given in the Cherokee syllabary by one of the chief traditionalists. The tribal records are kept in Cherokee as well as in English. Because of the uniqueness of its system of representation, Cherokee may be the last native language of the United States to be reduced to the inglorious muteness.

The Sikwayah syllabary is an example of a special adjustment arising in the processes of acculturation when genius is the mediator.

Names and Language

Although it is not within the scope of this study to present an elaborate statement of linguistic changes, some brief notes may be pertinent illustrations.

Perhaps the very first modifications in Cherokee naming was the result of contact with white traders. There were no doubt of two types: changes of pronunciation due to the

inability of the white tongue to cope with strange sounds, and actual translations and mistranslations of simpler names. At first this was unimportant, for Indians had numerous names anyway, but as time went on there may have been a preferred quality to the 'white' names, and the customary speed of name changing was slackened.

More important, however, was the breaking down of matrilineality, and the adoption of some name attributed to the male parent. This is now the practise at Qualla, and has been for at least three generations. No doubt the intrusion of the patrilinear habit was a factor in the breakdown of the clan, but it is also a good index of the extent to which that breakdown had progressed. Some clan names were subsequently adopted both for personal and surnames. (e.g. Ani djiskwa: djiskwa - Bird)

As the reader will suspect the actual name manipulations by whites which became preserved in Cherokee genealogy were occasionally rather charming. We are not likely to do better for an expose of this than refer to Mooney's essay which well summarizes the main types of name modification.¹⁴

For instance, Chief Jarret Smith was called by the Cherokee Tsalatihi, which is simply a transposition of Jarret plus the characteristic ending hi. It so happens, however, that the name becomes meaningful, thus: Tsala-tihi, or Charley-killer.

¹⁴Mooney, James. "Evolution in Cherokee Personal Names" Am. Anthropol. vol.iii, no. 1, 1889 (N.S.)

Lawyer Calhoun acquired his name in this manner. He was called Ditiyalihi, which signifies quarreler or wrangler. When, however, he was registered, the translation of his name into the appropriate 'Lawyer' stumbled on the Cherokee incapacity to pronounce 'r', so that legally he is 'Loya'. The Calhoun is apparently in compliment to some white man.

Many individuals have two sets of names such as James Blyth and Tiskwani (chestnut bread); and Jackson Blyth and Tsaksini (product of Cherokee trying to pronounce Jackson). One more illustration will suffice. Will West Long was originally Wilwesti, but in search of a 'last' name he used a translation of his father's Gunahita or Long.

Originally there were at least three Cherokee dialects, mutually intelligible to their speakers. Of these, two survive: the Western or Upper dialect is spoken by most of the Oklahoma Cherokee, and a few families in the Graham County settlement; the Middle or Kituhwa dialect is the one now spoken at Qualla. The Eastern dialect has been completely extinct so far as is known since the turn of the century.

The lack of any adequately elaborate linguistic study of Cherokee limits this treatment. Certain semasiological evolutions noted by Olbrechts depict the fashion in which acculturative influences find their reflection in language.¹⁵ 'Gadni' has acquired the following accretions: arrow, to

¹⁵ Olbrechts, Franz. op. cit. p.11

bullet, to lead. Likewise aDe lon has meant seed (?), bead, money, dollar. Kalo Gwe kt'i, locust tree, bow, gun.

Ritualistic language affords many considerations not pertinent here. It is quite difficult to determine what changes are due to acculturative and what to the essentially archaic nature and obscurantistic quality of the ritual. One point, however, is worth noting. The Cherokee ritualistic word for sun has been used as a translation for "Creator" because it was always regarded as an especially powerful spirit by the people. Hence, the root is now acquiring the meaning "to create", which was wholly foreign to its original content.¹⁶

Two word modifications which we can date are those for "book" and "to write". The word signifying "paper", "book", or "that which has been written" refers to the formulae kept by the medicine men. Hence it is no older than the Syllabary. The generic "to write" is not much older than two hundred years. Its original signification was "to mark", especially "to mark wood by burning designs on it", a technique still in the making of flat dice.¹⁷

Medicine

Modern Cherokee are learning to submit to western medicine when unavoidable, appreciate the more spectacular surgical

¹⁶Olbrechts, Franz. op. cit. p.20
Formulas of the Cherokees. p.340

Mooney, James. Sacred

¹⁷Op.cit. p.145

achievements, and throw away the pills when the physician is not looking. The duplicity of some of the full bloods in this respect is worthy of Emily Post's most involved formulae. Government medical service has improved notably, although it is still inadequate, and now the staffs are busy selling modern medicine.

Success is largely dependent upon the personality of the field personnel, and Cherokee is fortunate at this writing in having an efficient and insightful field nurse who has done much to educate and reconcile the population to white medicine. Of course, for the population and area it serves a resident physician, four hospital nurses, and a field nurse are grossly inadequate.

In direct competition with the white man's medicine is that of the native doctor. Not only does he offer a different method of cure, but he is convinced that white doctors willfully cause disease. In his own formulae are prescriptions that are designed to cause illness or death. But the white physician has the peculiar ability to cause epidemics.

18

Olbrechts cites the following case:

Toward the close of the Civil War two Cherokee were captured by the Union troops and kept prisoners of war. When, after the war, they were released they were called into a room and shown a red fish (swimming in a bowl). After they had looked at it the fish was put away again. They came back to where they lived, and

¹⁸ Olbrechts, Franz. Bull. 99 B.A.E. p.39

... and the ... of the ...

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three or four days after they got home they became feverish, and their whole body became covered with sores; they had smallpox.

In this case it is emphatically stated by present informants that it was the men looking at the fish that caused the disease and that it was purposely shown them by the white people to bring affliction and death on the two Cherokee and their people.

Surely there is sufficient precedent in Cherokee history to establish cause for belief in white malevolence. This fact has delayed adoptions we can be sure. The belief in white people as agents of disease was shared by many of the North American Indian tribes.¹⁹

As to the body of Cherokee medical lore, which is still preserved by a few traditionalists, actual changes resulting from the impact of white civilization have been few.²⁰ There have been no changes of content through contact with western medicine. Modifications have been along the lines of simplification, the changing of the mandatory to the occasional or permissive, and in some cases a growth of skepticism.

It was Mooney's opinion that in the aboriginal state Cherokee medicine was controlled by a secret society with the initiatory and restrictive rites which usually obtained. The break down of the societies can be taken as the result of white contacts.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Op. cit. pp 75, 107 f.

Today we have a number of specialists in various fields, and with the death of each one an irreplaceable body of lore is forever lost. Of fifteen individuals who were Mooney's informants during 1887, but six are still alive, and all are nearing death. No new group has grown up to take their place.

But the formulae are of remarkable purity. Mooney says,²¹ "Hardly a dozen lines of the hundreds of formulae show a trace of the influence of the white man or his religion." As much officinal value is expected from the proper recitation of the formula as from the intrinsic value of the medicine. Actually the medicine is inefficacious.

Although Mooney found that about twenty-five per cent of the botanical materia used by the tribe were listed in the United States Dispensatory for 1887, a modern pharmacopeia would severely reduce this number.²² However, the methods of use indicates that their actual (i.e. Western) officinal qualities are not understood by the sages of the Smokies. Efficacy is hardly to be expected when a medicine designed to be taken internally is squirted on the patient's belly, or when the decoction should have been made of the root instead of the bark. Similarly diets, induced vomiting, and isolation are concerned with taboo, and the ridding of "spoiled saliva",

²¹Mooney, James. 7th A.R. B./A.E. p.309

²²Op. cit. pp.324 ff.

rather than any medical theory justified on modern grounds.²³
 Cherokee medicine is not designed to cure the disease or
 allay the pain, but to remove the agent or to invoke an
 antagonistic agent.

A rather significant example of the type of change which
 belief patterns undergo is noted in the following by
 Olbrechts:²⁴

Whereas it appears from the more archaic data
 available that some dreams are the actual cause
 of many diseases, there is now in this very
 generation an evolution to be observed from
 'dream-disease-cause'; to 'dream-omen of disease'.
 'Fish dreams is a sign our appetite is going to
 be spoiled', an informant told me. From the
 older texts, however, it appears that it is the
 very fact of dreaming of fish that causes the
 disease.

Olbrecht's interpretation seems to be supported by the myth
 of the origin of disease and medicine.²⁵

Olbrechts notes that food introduced by whites is exempted
 from the dietary taboos connected with medical treatment,
 but whether this is simply an exemption or a signal that the
 whole food taboo system is close to death is not quite clear.²⁶
 In any case it is not at all surprising to see the permissive
 element beginning in a category of articles not expressly
 forbidden in the aboriginal form.

²³Olbrechts, Franz. op.cit. pp.81-83 et passim

²⁴Op. cit. p. 35

²⁵Mooney, James. 19th A.R. B.A.E. No.4, pp.250 ff.

²⁶Olbrechts, Franz. op. cit. p.65

1. The purpose of this document is to provide information regarding the activities of the organization in the field of international relations.

2. The information contained herein is classified as SECRET and is intended for the use of authorized personnel only.

3. The following information is being provided for your information:

The organization has been active in the field of international relations since its inception. It has established a wide network of contacts and has been instrumental in the development of many important international agreements. The organization's activities are directed towards the promotion of peace and stability in the world. It has been successful in its efforts to bring about a cessation of hostilities in several areas of conflict. The organization's work is of a confidential nature and its activities are not to be disclosed to the public.

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The sweathouse, which also served as an isolation house in cases of taboo, or had a counterpart for that purpose, has long since disappeared. Sweating which survived in a curtailed form until a generation ago has also passed, and its correlate, the "going to water", is practised but rarely and in certain specific connections. For instance, "going to water" was an essential part of preparation for the ball-play. This writer has observed pre-game ceremonies in which the sticks were immersed in the stream instead of the players. Patently we are dealing with magical practices which are fast losing their compulsive quality.

For another illustration of this phase we can do no better than cite Olbrechts:²⁷

Although only the ball players are now being scratched by this instrument (a comblike device) there are good reasons to believe that formerly it was also used in the treatment of certain ailments, where now such objects as flint arrowheads, briars, and laurel leaves...are used.

Moreover, there seems to be a tendency nowadays for scarification to develop from a mythico-surgical operation as Mooney still found it 40 years ago in (sic) a rite of a purely symbolic nature. In many instances I observed that not only no 'gashes' were inflicted, but that not even a particle of blood was drawn during the operation.

But it is to be noted that ball players are definitely scarified.

²⁷Op. cit. p.69

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This tendency toward symbolic construction is neatly illustrated further.²⁸

...scarifying (in rheumatism and allied ailments) is done by means of a flint arrowhead, preferably of the black variety. Old medicine men assert that this is the only variety that should be used, but as this kind of arrowhead is getting scarce there is a tendency to use any other kind. A still more curious shifting to a new position is shown in the custom which is rapidly gaining ground and according to which scratching is simply neglected, but an unworked piece of flint (called by the same Cherokee name as the arrowhead) is merely held against the sore joint, the formula for scratching being recited at the same time.²⁹

Articles of white origin are not used in this ceremony, and there is no particular reason why they should have been introduced.

But some taboo systems outlive their meaning in Cherokee society as well as others. Olbrechts was able to glean an antique prescription associated with buffalo even though the buffalo passed from the Unakas before the memory of any living Cherokee.³⁰

For medicinal purposes the venerable gourd dipper seems to be preferred to other kitchen utensils, and in the prepara-

²⁸ Loc. cit.

²⁹ Although the general position presented in Olbrechts' interpretation is indubitably accurate, there does seem to be an implied danger of interpreting primitive systems on a too rigid basis. We must approach changing modes most decorously and not charge them with a present change and a past inflexibility. As Olbrechts knows very well, aboriginal ceremony is not necessarily explicit, and the change he describes may indeed have good precedent in ancient practise.

³⁰ Op. cit. p.66

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tion of herbs, stones are used in preference to hammers. One would expect such a persistence of archaic utensils for parallels in other cultures are legion, but surely these preferences refer to an underlying sense of appropriateness. There is nothing mandatory about them.

Two citations will suffice to illustrate how midwifery has been influenced by white contact:³¹

There is no doubt but the injunction that four women must be present (at delivery) is...to be explained by the respect which the Cherokee have for this number. It is interesting to note that they themselves have rationalized it; they allege that it is an official regulation of the N.C. State authorities, that the number of female attendants should be four....

One or two...(of the parturient) positions are undoubtedly acquired from the whites.....Cutting the navel cord is now done with scissors.

Thus we see that even though the main body of Cherokee medical lore and formulae has been unmodified by white intrusion, numerous adjustments have occurred in actual practise. The mandatory quality of directions has lessened. As each expert dies Cherokee medicine loses large areas of its data and becomes a much less adequate system and self-consistent/^{system.} What is more, much of the prestige of the lore is personified in a few sages, and as they pass, and none arise to fill their place, the prestige of the system is lessened.

³¹Op. cit. pp.122,123,124

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1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation in the country during the year. It is noted that the economy has shown a steady growth, particularly in the industrial sector. The agricultural sector has also made significant progress, despite the challenges posed by the weather. The government has implemented various measures to support the economy and improve the living standards of the population.

2. The second part of the report discusses the progress of the various projects and programs initiated by the government. It is noted that the majority of these projects have been completed on time and within budget. The government has also made significant investments in infrastructure, education, and healthcare, which have contributed to the overall development of the country.

3. The third part of the report provides a detailed analysis of the financial performance of the government. It is noted that the government has maintained a balanced budget throughout the year, which is a testament to the sound financial management of the country. The government has also managed to reduce the national debt, which is a positive sign for the country's economic future.

4. The fourth part of the report discusses the social and cultural developments in the country. It is noted that there has been a significant improvement in the social indicators, such as literacy rates and life expectancy. The government has also made significant investments in the cultural sector, which has helped to preserve the country's rich heritage and promote its culture.

5. The fifth part of the report discusses the international relations of the country. It is noted that the country has maintained friendly relations with its neighboring countries and has actively participated in international organizations. The government has also made significant efforts to attract foreign investment, which has helped to boost the country's economy.

6. The sixth part of the report discusses the challenges and opportunities facing the country. It is noted that while the country has made significant progress, there are still many challenges that need to be addressed, such as poverty, unemployment, and environmental degradation. However, there are also many opportunities for the country to continue its development and improve the living standards of its population.

7. The seventh part of the report discusses the conclusions and recommendations of the report. It is noted that the government has made significant progress in various areas, but there is still much work to be done. The government is recommended to continue its efforts to improve the economy, social indicators, and international relations of the country.

8. The eighth part of the report discusses the appendix, which contains various statistical data and tables. It is noted that the data presented in the appendix is reliable and accurate, and it provides a clear picture of the country's performance during the year.

9. The ninth part of the report discusses the bibliography, which lists the various sources of information used in the report. It is noted that the report is based on a wide range of sources, including government reports, statistical data, and international organizations, which ensures the accuracy and reliability of the information presented in the report.

10. The tenth part of the report discusses the index, which provides a quick reference to the various sections of the report. It is noted that the index is well-organized and easy to use, which makes it a valuable tool for readers.

To the writer's knowledge no attempt similar to the Swimmer Manuscript and the Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees has been made to collect formulae among the Western Band. In spite of the fact that the migrants were far more numerous than those who remained, such an attempt would be less fruitful even before the turn of the century. Travel always involves the danger of loss of luggage, as so many of us know. Furthermore, the toll on the aged must have been even greater on the long hazardous trip than in the mountains. Tribal wisdom is the property of the old.

Those in their mountain seclusion had a great impetus to conserve what they had. Hence the six or seven hundred formulae and the myths which Mooney collected from 1887 to 1890 represent a more nearly complete compilation of Cherokee lore than we might at first assume. Particularly the former should be regarded "as of" 1850 or earlier, perhaps much earlier. Did the formulae aboriginally number many hundreds, perhaps thousands? We do not know. But we may guess that not many more were available to any one medicine man than were available to A'yuni (Swimmer).

Religion and Mythology

It is impossible to make clear cut distinctions in Cherokee lore. Religion shades off into tradition; folklore into sheer fiction; and medicine into religion with no demarcations along the way. The demarcations that are perceptible to us are

derived from our own culture, and if we do use them we must do it fully aware of the artificiality of the conceptualizations.

The Cherokee had no "Great Spirit". Their religion was essentially a zootheism in which certain elements of hecastotheism survived, and the deification of the elements and great powers were adumbrated. Animal gods were most numerous, but the gods of the elements were most important. To the Cherokee the spiritual world was a counterpart of this world, and his prayers were for temporal and tangible things. What is more, the prayers were directed to a pantheon probably much in the guise of magical formulae. The body of the myths collected by Mooney provide a statement of aboriginal religion which no later worker can expect to duplicate.

As we have noted, missionary influences were few and fleeting. No doubt certain small modifications of vocabulary and thought followed the general contact with white civilization, but it seems clear that until very recent times little was taken from Christianity; not perhaps until the founding of the missions and the invention of the syllabary. Then we find missionaries searching for a word for God and hitting upon Sun--Une 'lami hi- Apportioner; analogous in our language to using Moon-Measurer.³²

Probably more specific modifications can be found in the native interpretations of Biblical literature than in Biblical

³² Ibid. p. 340

influences on the native myth. For instance, Lanman notes that the Genesis as recounted by an Indian preacher began with the Cherokee creation proviso: ³³

In the beginning of creation, the world was covered with water. God spake the word and the dry land was made. But then...he next made the day and the night; also, the sun, moon, and stars. He then made all the beasts and birds and fishes in the world, and was much pleased.

In recent years the Baptist Mission and Methodist influence have made some inroads, but only a quarter of the population of various degrees of blood are even nominally members. The hold that these churches have upon their adherents is tenuous indeed, and several of the most influential lay preachers are also traditionalists and medicine men. It is apparent that Christianity and the Cherokee "religion" do not fill the same place in the thinking of the people.

On the other hand, even though European religion has failed to make inroads, the aboriginal religion will not survive. The passing of authoritarian traditionalists who could keep alive the body of myth and medicine lessens the prestige of the old idea. There is nothing to take its place, but unsystematized remnants of Christianity, of the superstition of their white neighbors, and of the old fading memories of the old faith. In this case we are dealing with loss of culture traits, but not displacement.

³³Lanman, Charles. Letters from the Alleghany Mountains pp.97 f.

Social Organization

This section will be devoted largely to a discussion of the principles set forth in Gilbert's Eastern Cherokee Social Organization.³⁴ Approaching the matter from what he calls a functional analysis, Gilbert discovers among the Cherokee of today a:³⁵

social culture...utterly unlike that recorded for any other tribe of the Southeast and for that matter of North America. Only in far off Australia among certain tribes of the Northeast do we find anything remotely resembling this type of preferential mating allied with kinship attitudes extended to whole clans.

He goes on:³⁶

It does not seem that any existing factors in Cherokee life are capable of explaining the entire meaning of this rather unusual development.

Yet later,

The age of the present day features are entirely unknown and so far as our present knowledge reaches may be products of certain special conditions surrounding the small inbred Cherokee communities during the nineteenth century....

It seems that no existing factors are capable of explaining an apparently contemporaneous phenomenon.

Let us go on. Even though Gilbert says, and this is the proposition with which we are concerned,:³⁷

³⁴Manuscript, 1932

³⁵Op.cit. p.280

³⁶ and ³⁷ Italics are mine.

1. The first part of the document is...

2. The second part of the document is...

3. The third part of the document is...

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The picture of the present day society gives one the impression of a compact and cohesive community with a relatively intense emphasis on kinship and descent

his general thesis makes this descent of short duration.

Yet it is to be comparable in the peculiarities and ramifications of its system of preferential mating only to certain Australian tribes.³⁸

As far as we know the Ugarinyin have elaborated over long periods these systems which are so dependent upon a nice balance of reciprocal and preferential matings. Gilbert would have a people who had undergone a prolonged period of deculturization suddenly blossom forth with a most highly elaborate of cultural achievements. And in this the Cherokee Clan (an antique form) becomes metamorphosed into "primarily the regulating agent of preferential mating and the most important single manifestation of its structural basis."³⁹

He makes it clear in this:

The pattern of the former culture is not strikingly different in its social aspects from that of the Creeks or other typical Southeastern tribes...the picture among the present day Cherokee is utterly different from anything we would expect to find or have yet found among the Southeastern Indians.

³⁸ Op. cit. p.281

³⁹ Op. cit. p.76

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de 2000... (faint text)

(faint text block)

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(faint text block)

Evidence for preferential marriage Gilbert classes under two headings, direct evidence or statistical treatment of preference, and indirect or "overwhelming" evidence of kinship usages.⁴⁰

However it is to be indicated that the statistical evidence of marriage preference is wholly indecisive; and kinship terms are not identical with kinship usages. As an ethnographic note it is interesting that reexamination of Gilbert's informant revealed certain discrepancies which were verified by other authorities.^{41 & 42} Kinship terms Gilbert does present, but their functionality he does not demonstrate.

In his study of 321 families possessing 475 "heads" Gilbert falls into his first error, for the material should be treated by persons, i.e. "heads", whereas, he treats it by families.⁴³ In order to sample such a large number of families (there are less than 500 on the reservation) he would have to make some inroads on the white Indian population which is clanless.

⁴⁰Op. cit. pp. 65,66.

^{41 & 42}The statement, "I can joke with sister's children, however, since they are of my own clan." is false in theory, for ego (male) is gidudji (mother's brother) and is to be respected. The statement, "I always joke with and tease my ungilisi and unginisi (grandchildren) seems to be a general misstatement. "My son's son...I call 'agidzoli'" is wrong, for the term refers to son's wife (i.e., daughter-in-law); the appropriate term for son's son being unginisi.

⁴³Op. cit. p. 18.

The Graham County group, among the most full blood and isolated of the populations, is predominantly "abnormal", twenty-one of the twenty-seven marriages being endogamous, and no "normal" clanned marriages being noted! Yet in this area, report of clan affiliations would be more reliable than anywhere else on the reservation.

The writer's data present no such happy uniformity as Gilbert's and the degree of ignorance manifest by these individuals (all full-bloods) indicates that Gilbert's statistics are based on doubtful data.⁴⁴

The few traditionalists who were at all acquainted with the classificatory terminology were inclined to regard the codes of respect, privileged joking and exogamy as antiquated and defunctional. "That is the way it used to be, but the people today don't act that way any more."

Only in the highest age groups do the individuals interviewed show any assurance in indicating the clan identities of members of their families, and the affiliations of more distant relatives and close friends were rarely elicited. Far from being a kinship system in operation, the most elementary identifications were made with difficulty and doubt. The information can be characterized as intellectualism rather than statement of a way of behaving.

⁴⁴ See Table.

The declining store of elementary information as one moves toward the younger groups is obvious and self-explanatory. There is a tendency here for individuals to give English names for the clans. Patrilineality is complete and has been dominant for several generations. Functionally it can be regarded as having displaced the system of matrilineality by clans. Actual cases of endogamy are difficult to establish in the younger brackets because the necessary data of identity are lacking. In the sixty year group, however, two endogamous marriages were reported by ten informants; and curiously enough one individual reported he had married endogamously when such was not the case!

Some Numerical Indices of Clan Functionality
Among Full Blood Cherokee

Age Group	Av. Clans Named (of 7)	Exog. (%) Correct	Clan of Female Parent	Clan of Male Parent	Clan of Mate	Clan of first filial Generation	Clan of Ego
(Above) 70	6.3 (6)	0.90 (10)	1.00 (10)	1.00 (10)	1.00 (9)	1.00 (9)	0.90 (10)*
60's	6.2 (12)	0.77 (13)	1.00 (13)	0.92 (12)	0.92 (12)	0.80 (10)	0.92 (12)
50's	4.9 (7)	0.80 (10)	0.90 (10)	0.80 (10)	1.00 (7)	0.75 (8)	1.00 (10)
40's	3.5 (8)	0.40 (10)	0.80 (10)	0.60 (10)	0.50 (8)	0.33 (9)	0.80 (10)
30's	2.3 (9)	0.60 (10)	0.70 (10)	0.40 (10)	0.38 (8)	0.44 (9)	0.70 (10)
20's	1.00 (10)	0.10 (10)	0.20 (10)	0.20 (10)	0.12 (8)	0.14 (7)	0.30 (10)

* Figures below line in parentheses indicate number of cases.

In seeking for an explanation of the divergencies in opinion between Gilbert and this writer it seemed that Gilbert had been led on the basis of data drawn from too narrow a source to make elaborate sociological diagnoses. Much of his evidence depends on second hand data, apparently collected by commissioned persons.⁴⁵ The important concern for social organization lies in what the term means to the general and not what academic interpretation may be given it by an authoritarian--which his chief informant undeniably is. In this Gilbert failed. Any "functional" study that so far ignores an essential ethnologic technique can only be regarded as interesting conjecture.

Finally, this writer's admittedly cursory survey shows that few individuals can even name all the clans, that many do not know their own clan affiliation, that few know the clans of very close relatives, that none are sufficiently informed to make Gilbert's system work. Furthermore, the simplest exogamic taboo is breaking down, and in another generation or two clan demarcation and identity will be passe. Because the system of preferential mating is based on kinship; because kinship is based on clanship; and because clanship is a point of ignorance, Gilbert's argument seems to be cast in the severest doubt.

⁴⁵Personal information from Gilbert's chief informant.

Plate V

The Ball Play

The Pre-Game lineup.
Now for squabbling;
once for betting ceremonies.
(Note sticks)

"Now for the
twelve". The
game begins.

It is a game still
violently pursued.

...still a struggle

...still hazardous
enough



Recreation

Before the advent of the white man, one of the dominant life interests of the Cherokee lay in their games which were partly ceremonial and which were a most significant aspect of group solidarities.⁴⁶ Betting was an essential feature even of the ones not expressly designed for gambling. No great ceremony was complete without its ball-play, and no ball-play was complete without the betting of huge stakes. A whole fortune, even a man's freedom, would be laid on the outcome of a single contest. Even today in the games that survive, the bets are relatively, if not absolutely, large, and the fierceness with which the contests are pursued indicates that the activities are very real elements in the conduct of life.

One important athletic game which was general in the Southeast was Chungke (Bartram), or Nettecawaw (Timberlake), or Chenco (Lawson). It was a version of the hoop and pole game which was widely varied but universal north of Mexico. Timberlake reports the game actually being played in 1762. He says,⁴⁷ "...one bowls the round stone, with one flat side, & the other convex, on which the players all dart their poles after it, & the nearest counts according to the vicinity of the bowl to the marks on his pole." Shortly, however, the game

⁴⁶See Chapter I.

⁴⁷Timberlake, Lieut. H. Memoirs. p.77

passed. The rapidity of its demise may in part be attributed to the changing of town sites attendant upon the advancing of the frontier. It was a game which required a large and rather carefully contrived arena which seems to have been provided for in the squares of the aboriginal villages of the Southeast. A kind of women's football game which sometimes was played between the sexes has also long since passed.

The Cherokee ball-play, however, which is one phase of the universal racket game, showed enough vigour to survive until this day, and it seems to have a secure place in the customs of the modern community. Most important is the fact that its survival has had a part in preserving a whole gestalt of ritualistic and ceremonial appurtenances. One of the best preserved of dance forms is the ball game dance. Only in the pre-game ritual is scarification carried out in an extreme fashion. Scratching once may have been an actual ordeal; today it is ceremonial. Although they are all practised in a much diluted manner, we still find associated with preparation for the ball play, scratching, conjuring, going to water, fasting, continence, and the post-game dance of celebration. No doubt the game will outlast all its attendant customs, but it has been a potent factor in lending artificial respiration to a whole body of lore. The axiom seems to present itself that gestalten of lore will survive longer when they have as a core some salient institution of marked vigour.

The dances are advisedly taken here as recreative rather than as ceremonial forms which they were aboriginally. That fact per se is a very significant item of change. To be sure, the recreative element was no small part of the ancient habit, but it was relatively subordinated to the system of seasonal celebrations. Of the manifold dance forms which were once parts of continuous and elaborate ceremonial systems, only a dozen or more highly conventionalized dances are practised by a handful of "teams".⁴⁸

In recent years a refertilization has taken place from one area, Big Cove Town, which has an important full-blood colony and an authoritarian traditionalist. Interest in other parts of the reservation has been revived, and at the present writing the competition to produce the ablest team is sharpened by the lure of monetary reward. At the yearly "Cherokee Fair", which is a combination of artificially contrived Indian pageantry and the honky-tonk of the small time carnival, dance teams from the various towns vie with each other in competitions. Each time, the Big Cove authoritarian will insist (through a microphone) that his dances are "real old-time Cherokee", and perhaps there is some slight justification for his insistence on a higher authenticity.

But separated from the meaningful context of the ceremonies of which they were parts, the dances have faded rapidly, and

⁴⁸Vide supra Chapters I and III.

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Plate VI

Three phases of the vestigial

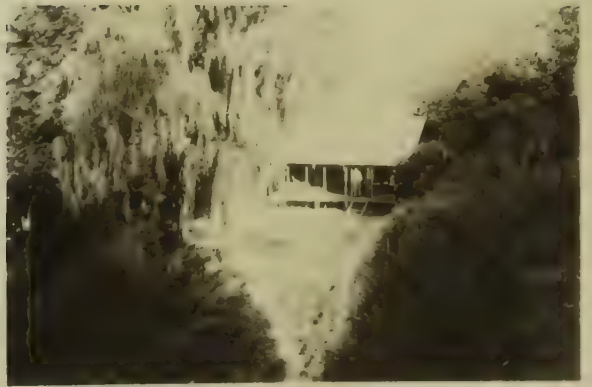
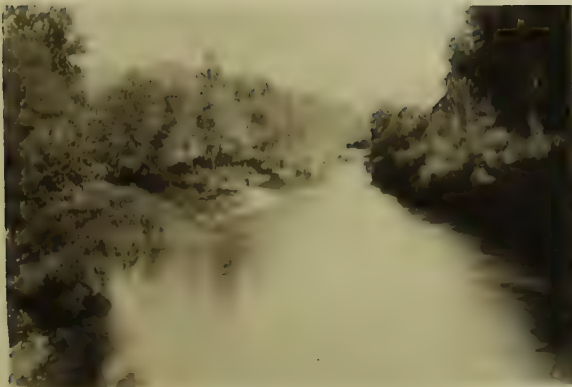
Green-corn Dance. Once "Men only were allowed to participate...each bore his green bush..."* Now only one carries a sprig; others take shotguns and blast leaves from the traditionally placed tree.

(*Bartram,Wm. "The Creek and Cherokee Indians" p.75)

Soco Valley

The Oconaluftee

Dawn in the
Big Cove



have been distorted by the apparent assimilation of Western dance forms. In the midst of a typical Cherokeean motif it is not uncommon to discover a gesture, a bow, or a parody of a bow which is patently a remnant of some precursor to the mountain white square dance, a minuet, a quadrille, a mazurka, a waltz.

It is interesting to notice that the largest number of non-Cherokeean gestures seem to be found in dances which contain least of symbolic content, and in the execution of which the demeanor of the participants appears jocular, playful, and careless.

In addition to the dances which are performed generally (about eight), and those which are attempted occasionally (six or seven more), the names and a few characteristics of some half dozen others are known to a few persons. The only sign of a preservation of a ceremonial dance complex is evidenced in the "Green Corn Dance", which is, however, only the palest ghost of the harvest festival of a century ago.

The square and round dances are participated in by some younger full-bloods as well as the white Indians. The square dance team which represented Cherokee at a tournament had the following typical blood distribution among its female members: one full-blood, three in the middle blood group, and four white Indians.

Perhaps the most extreme example of the culture-confusion complex was witnessed in the Fall of 1936. In the gymnasium

of the boarding school a group of pupils were "round" dancing to the strains of "Melancholy Baby" being played too fast, while in another corner a vendor of "real old-time Cherokee" wares was attempting to direct a group who were learning the Ball Game Dance. The situation can be appreciated by the reader, but not imagined, for the Ball Game Dance was not meant to be danced to such a tempo, and gourd rattles were not designed to provide a rhythmic background for a gymnasium piano.

There is now no technique of investigating with any satisfactory certainty the changes that have occurred in Cherokee music due to white intrusion, but an excellent opportunity is available at Qualla for a properly qualified person to study the changes in Western songs which were introduced into Cherokee some decades ago, and have been translated into Cherokee. This observer offers the following naive notes as suggestions of what seems to him to have taken place.

Marked modifications have occurred in these songs in tone harmony and melodic pattern. In part these may be attributed to the necessities of translation or the demands of the Cherokee language, but other changes indicate that another musical habit is making itself felt. In the musical notations appended which are to be taken as types, only with the greatest provisionality, we find a tendency to substitute fourths for seconds and to modify time qualities of certain phrases. Not indicated is a most characteristic "slurring" which is observable in almost all the introduced music.

O, Little Town of Bethlehem

⑤ 2nd Written 4th Song

The first staff of music is in G major (one flat) and 4/4 time. It shows two phrases of music. The first phrase is marked with a circled 5 and '2nd Written'. The second phrase is marked with a circled 4 and '4th Song'.

⑦ Written Song

The second staff of music continues the melody. The first phrase is marked with a circled 7 and 'Written'. The second phrase is marked with 'Song'.

Darling Nelly Gray

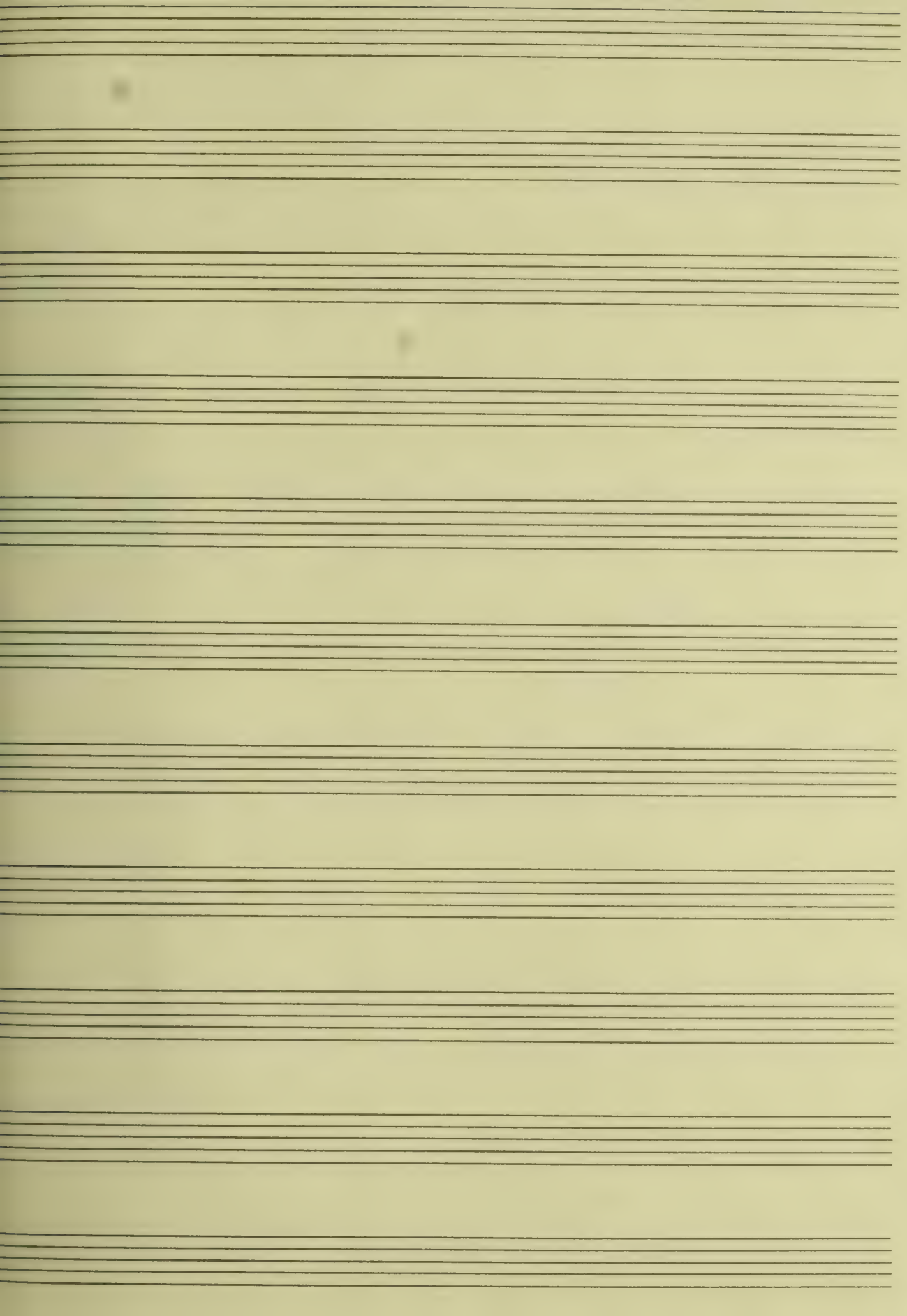
③ Written Song
Identical 'error' in ⑦ measure of Chorus

The first staff of music is in G major (one flat) and 4/4 time. It shows two phrases of music. The first phrase is marked with a circled 3 and 'Written'. The second phrase is marked with 'Song'. A note below the staff indicates an 'Identical error in ⑦ measure of Chorus'.

It Came Upon The Midnight

2nd Written 4th Song

The first staff of music is in G major (one flat) and 4/4 time. It shows two phrases of music. The first phrase is marked with '2nd Written'. The second phrase is marked with '4th Song'.



As we have noted above, the introduction of the more exciting beverages immediately found a place in the Cherokee way of life. We may well say that this adoption was the most immediate and whole-hearted of all. Its role at Qualla today is no different than that in any other Appalachian community.

The use of tobacco, of course, was an aboriginal trait, but in this area it was used characteristically in a stone, pottery, or wooden pipe. The surviving form is overshadowed by the use of snuff (for dipping purposes), chewing tobacco, and cigarets.

Culture Correlations

The relationship of the following study to the body of the thesis will be obvious, but it is inserted as a distinct unit because it represents an attempt to carry out a special technique. As such it may deserve a discrete place in this paper.

Certain correlations were established between craft practices and the degree of blood, the linguistic habit, and the geographical distribution of the participants. Four common crafts having been examined as to their indigenous or non-indigenous nature, basket and bow making were regarded as aboriginal and continuous traits; whereas, pottery making and bead work are taken as mixed and discontinuous.

The manufacture of baskets is an indigenous trait of some

importance. In addition to the use of baskets in the native homes and farms, there has been a market for them during recent years in the trinket-trophy tourist trade. Although basket making has been continuous, there has undoubtedly been a general levelling out in weaving technique and a simplifying of patterns. This is exemplified by the passing of the double weave technique, the most complex form practised by the people. It may also be noted that there has been a slight intrusion in the use of commercial dyes which, however, show no sign of displacing the domestic variety. In discussing decoration and design, Speck states that basketry is "the only industrial art which has endured long enough among the Cherokee people to afford a perspective...."⁴⁹ Surely Cherokee basketry may be regarded as a reasonably pure indigenous trait.

Bow making is also an aboriginal industry. Although displaced for most practical purposes by the shotgun and small calibre rifle, the bow has not quite fallen into complete disuse either as a tool or as a device for sport. Bow and arrow sales are of some economic importance to a few of the Cherokee.

The original coil technique, common in the Southeast, continues as the basis of manufacture, but pottery making has been highly modified, and the pieces turned out by Cherokee potters today have no recognizable connection in design with archaeological specimens, which were characterized by paddle

⁴⁹ Speck, F. G. "Decorative Art and Basketry of the Cherokee", Bulletin Public Museum of Milwaukee. vol.ii, no.2, p.64

stamping. Most modern pots are poorly baked, unevenly colored, and unserviceable for domestic purposes. They are turned out simply as tourist lure. Exception to this will be noted below. Within the past year an abortive attempt has been made to introduce casting.

Bead work has no roots in Cherokee culture.⁵⁰ The practice is no more common than among neighboring whites, nor is there any noticeable difference in design or technique.

Correlations with Degree of Indian Blood

It will be noted in Table I below that the two crafts characterized as indigenous, basket and bow making, are practised by persons who, according to the tribal rolls, have a high degree of Indian blood. (This source is fairly reliable although the amount of Indian blood is probably slightly less than indicated in almost all cases. However, as we are dealing with relative degrees the matter need not greatly concern us.) Craftsmen were included only if they had some professional status as determined by commercial gains, quantity or quality of work, and reputation. The non-indigenous crafts, on the other hand, are engaged in by individuals with varying degrees of Indian blood, and it will be seen that the

⁵⁰Ibid.

distributions for potters and bead workers approximate that for the tribe as a whole.

Table I

Degree of Indian Blood	%Among Residents	%Among Craftsmen			
		11 Bow Makers	21 Basket Makers	17 Potters	13 Bead Workers
4/4-3/4	54	90.9 (10)	90.5(19)	17.7(3)	30.8(4)*
3/4-1/4	17		9.5(2)	64.8(11)	30.8(4)
1/4-	19	9.1 (1)		17.5(3)	38.4(5)

* Numbers in parentheses indicate persons

There are in addition several more direct points which reinforce the indicated correlations. The double weave, an ancient and most complex technique of basket making, has survived so far as is known only in the practise of two women of full blood. One is teaching the craft to her daughter who is more than seven-eighths Cherokee.

Pottery making as practised today bears little resemblance to the original habit. However, one old man still employs the antique decorative device of paddle stamping which is a distinctive feature of the indigenous pottery. Again the surviving trait seems to be maintained only by a full blood.

The two individuals on the reservation engaged in the

manufacture of blowguns, a craft comparable to bow making, were both full bloods.

Correlations with Linguistic Habit

Most of these people speak some English, but the linguistic habit in the homes appears to be about evenly divided between Cherokee and English, with English somewhat the more prevalent. Among the craftsmen the customary household languages are as follows:

Table II

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Cherokee Habit</u>	<u>English Habit</u>
"Indigenous" Crafts		
Bow Makers	10	1
Basket Makers	18	3
"Non-Indigenous" Crafts		
Bead Workers	4	9
Potters	1*	16

*The one Cherokee-speaking household listed is the home of the individual using paddle stamping, *Vide supra*.

Geographic Distributions

Several generalizations may be made regarding the geographical distribution of the craftsmen. Those who practise the non-indigenous crafts tend to reside relatively close to the agency headquarters and the center of population, and in places of highly mixed population.

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...	3	3
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The bow and basket makers are more widely distributed in less accessible sections. In most cases they are in areas of traditionalist and full blood population, although no single section has a monopoly of any craft.

Conclusion

It may be seen that the preservation of certain aboriginal material culture traits tends to be positively correlated with a high percentage of native blood, a native linguistic habit, and a degree of geographical isolation. On the strength of these data, even though some of the correlations are notably high, it seems to the writer that in no case can we infer that given survivals occur because of a linguistic habit, a degree of blood, or a degree of geographical isolation. Rather, we must say that these are factors which bear more than a fortuitous relationship to the survival of material culture traits. The more nearly intact the context from which a given skill arose, the more likely is that trait to survive.⁵¹ Essentially we need only point out that according to our data traits from the same matrix mutually reinforce each other, that language, blood, and isolation are most potent factors, and that survivals are likely to be characterized by this mutual reinforcement of correlative traits.

⁵¹However, each given trait may be regarded as having a certain vitality, which is peculiar to it, and, according to its viability, it may bear transplanting.

Methodologically, the comparative treatment of indigenous and non-indigenous traits in the study of survivals seems to present certain advantages. Some such comparative approach as the one suggested here may afford a relative objectivity which still does not ignore certain essential dynamic relationships. Analogous studies on other groups, it seems, might provide a basis for analysis in which the constancy of certain elements might be evaluated and some insight given into their differential significance.

Further Correlations

Continuing this line of discussion, it is interesting to note that the same context of bloodedness, isolation, and language appears to be significant in the preservation of non-material culture traits. Naturally linguistic habit and bloodedness are highly correlated, but Cherokee literacy is more closely correlated with Cherokee blood than is speech habit. Ignorance of English is similarly correlated.

Those individuals who are looked upon as authorities in the traditional lore are almost without exception full bloods. Those who represent their towns in the Cherokee ball play are full bloods, and if one should attend the native dance in any part of the reservation he would find the membership of the teams almost entirely composed of individuals with a high degree of Cherokee blood. On the other hand, although some

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younger full bloods do enjoy the "square" and "round" dances, the participants tend to be a more nearly normal sample of the reservation or district, and the sponsors are always white Indians.

Material Culture Traits

The material culture trait is not in the best repute today with ethnologists. There is a prevalent notion that the artifact has in the past attracted disproportionate attention--to the neglect of other more significant and more profitable phases of investigation. That is not to be contested; yet it was hardly the artifact's fault that it was burdened with such attentions. There seems to be little justification for modern ethnologists' making considerable fuss about ignoring the material culture trait, and, thereby it seems, put it in its place. In such wise the secondarily elaborated problems which heckle modern science are continued. Hence the material culture traits which seem to be typical signposts in our problem will be discussed. In studies of acculturation especially they are data which afford a salutary tangibility, salutary both to the investigator and the investigation.

Weapons

For purely utilitarian purposes we may say that the bow and blowgun have been displaced by the rifle and shotgun in a process which began at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

But after more than two centuries the aboriginal weapons still survive, albeit in modified and decayed forms. The type of bow has tended to change toward that of the "long" bow and has added two feet or so to its length. Some of the more commercial minded workmen go so far as to import woods from other sections of the country. Stringing is, of course, now done with cord instead of sinew.

The arrow, too, has undergone a change. Instead of the aboriginal feathering in which two feathers were twisted to provide "rifling", we find that the English style of three feathers has been adopted. Tipping, of course, in no way resembles the primitive technique. Anciently, the Indians showed a most catholic taste in arrow heads, making them of bone, stone, or horn. In more recent times they have been made of metal and glass, and now empty cartridge cases are de rigeur.

On the other hand, the pinch grip has persisted even though it is inferior to that used by modern archers. The Cherokee excel in hitting small targets and engage little in "flight" shooting, and this we would expect from their cultural ancestry.

The blow-gun has passed through a somewhat different process which has been characterized by decay. It too lost its functional importance early, but in essential form it has remained the same nine foot-long, straightened piece of hollowed seasoned cane. But it is less straight, and less seasoned. The blow-gun dart is unchanged as a blow-gun dart, but ^{it is} technically inferior, and string is used in fastening the

10

The first part of the document is a general introduction to the subject of the study. It discusses the importance of the research and the objectives of the study. The second part of the document is a detailed description of the methodology used in the study. This includes a description of the data sources, the sampling method, and the statistical methods used to analyze the data. The third part of the document is a discussion of the results of the study. This includes a description of the findings and a discussion of their implications. The final part of the document is a conclusion and a list of references.

thistle-down.

Instruments of the Dance

Aboriginal musical instruments were rather strictly appurtenances of the dance. Of the flute, rattle and drum, only the first is completely lost. The terrapin shell and gourd rattle are in common use at all the dances; while the drum has fallen under the spell of the culture confusion complex. Some drums are still made of a wooden shell with a skin head, but many are contrived of small casks, makeshift affairs indeed.

On the other hand, the intrusion of western instruments has been slight, largely because of their expensiveness. Perhaps there are a few dozen assorted instruments on the reservation, a very few talking machines and less than a half dozen radios

Textiles and Dress

The finger weaving of the ancient Cherokee has long since been displaced by European textiles and techniques. In three centuries three consecutive phases have appeared. At the beginning of the eighteenth century we find English cloth an important item in the Indian trade. At the beginning of the nineteenth century we find much Cherokee cloth being hand loomed of homespun thread. In the twentieth century the Cherokee is dependent on outside agencies for his raiment more

than ever before. Blue denim, simple print cloths, and kerchiefs are the principal inadequate clothing of modern Cherokee. The moccassin and skin and feather dress has gone the way of wampum, breast plates, the scalp lock, and tattooing. On pseudo ceremonial occasions for tourist consumption Sioux warbonnets decorated with ostrich plums provide the cultural inglory.

Tools and Machinery

Long since the wealth of stone implements that provided the basis of ancient economy have bowed out before the advent of metal. Shell and stones have given away to more efficient but not much more complex tools. The simple plough, the knife, the axe and such accessories are the Cherokee's principal allies in a desultory scrimmaging with nature. The wood corn mortar and pestle have survived.

More elaborate machinery is familiar but rarely used. A handful of the homes have sewing machines, relics of some brief day of prosperity when lumbering exploited Qualla labor, and the uniform poverty preclude^e the ownership of automobiles to all but a very few. However, the opening of negotiable roads has extended the use of 'taxis' which ply between the Reservation and the neighboring towns of Sylva and Bryson.⁵²

⁵²One observer has remarked that ^eAshville (68 miles distant) is now nearer Cherokee, than Bryson City (15 miles from the Agency) was ten years ago. This is discerning, but only partly true, for the Indian with his small income still goes on foot to the nearby towns.

...наше дело и наша жизнь. Мы должны быть готовы к тому, что придется бороться за свободу и независимость нашей страны. Мы должны быть готовы к тому, что придется бороться за мир и дружбу между народами. Мы должны быть готовы к тому, что придется бороться за справедливость и равенство. Мы должны быть готовы к тому, что придется бороться за будущее нашей страны и нашего народа.

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Miscellany

Pottery and basketry still figure in Cherokee life and have been treated in detail above. The former was greatly influenced by Catawba techniques, introduced by adopted persons from that tribe. In any case, it is a faded vestige of the aboriginal trait. Basketry is more vigorous, although the most complex twilling technique is being lost.

There is no remnant of aboriginal housing, contemporary structures being of board or log. The sweathouse is also passe.

Work in wood, although it cannot be termed per se indigenous, has a distinctively aboriginal flavor in spots. For instance, the production of masks for the dances and the scarification instruments are still manufactured. One curious device which may be a survival is the occasional practise of carving balls in the frame of a walking stick. A similar trait was anciently used in the handles of homming blades and perhaps had some ritualistic significance.

If the device is some such descendant we have an intriguing case of a specific ritualistic trait decaying into a pure and generalized decoration.

Briefly we note that in material culture traits displacement has taken place rather completely, especially in cases of markedly superior Western technology. It is not to be suggested

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Plate VII

Youth

White Indians attend
the government schools

Captions are
captious

Three Types

(1-r) Marked Negroid admixture

A White Indian

A Full-blood

Hair-lip is
not uncommon

Dirt is universal, but
English is spoken,
government schools
attended



that acculturation is any deliberate, self-conscious matter of sorting and selecting traits, but apparent superiorities will have their effect in speeding adoption. Material survivals which are evident are usually disjointed parts of elaborate complexes.

Some Theoretical Considerations

In the historico-ethnological treatment which has gone before, certain implications of generalization have no doubt been noted by the reader. It becomes our problem now to examine specific items of change which seem to be most significant, and to suggest to what extent generalized interpretations are valid both within the cultural space of our problem, and the conceptual space of acculturation as process.

It is regrettable in the extreme that only now are studies in acculturation being made which in the future will bear comparative treatment. Thurnwald's work in East Africa and Mair's among the Baganda are two such, but the situation there and in our area present more points of contrast than of similarity. Africa with its dense populations, its ready, almost eager acceptance of Western technology, its notion of wealth, and its deference to the power and prestige of the white is quite the converse of aboriginal America.

The Baganda country, for instance, with an elaborate system of fealty and political submission predisposes the people to an immediate acceptance of the inevitable, once white dominance

is established. Contrast that with Indian America, its liquidly mobile populations, the independence of its tribes. The nature of population distributions then, is significant in predisposing or deterring the mass acceptance of intruders and intruding forms. Sparse and mobile populations let us say require more points of influence per capita than dense populations which have already available a system of diffusion within the group.

Correlated with this is the fact that a weakly structured political organization may retard deliberate acceptance, and among the Cherokee this was certainly the case. In some more stable and highly integrated systems, acculturation may proceed with almost literally an institutionalization of the accepted forms. Something of this sort seems to be inferred by some writers as the dominant motif in all acculturation, when certainly it has been of relatively small importance in aboriginal North America.

Dr. Elsie Parsons Clews in Mitla seems to be troubled by such a bias. For instance,⁵³ "... new traits tend to be welcomed or readily borrowed if they do not clash with pre-existent traits, or again if they have something in common with pre-existent traits to take the edge off their unfamiliarity." One suspects that the resemblances which can be noted at this distance are purely in the realm of post facto

⁵³ Clews, E.P. Mitla. p. 521

The first sentence was written by the author of the first volume of the series. The second sentence was written by the author of the second volume. The third sentence was written by the author of the third volume. The fourth sentence was written by the author of the fourth volume. The fifth sentence was written by the author of the fifth volume. The sixth sentence was written by the author of the sixth volume. The seventh sentence was written by the author of the seventh volume. The eighth sentence was written by the author of the eighth volume. The ninth sentence was written by the author of the ninth volume. The tenth sentence was written by the author of the tenth volume.

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justification. However, the important point is that traits are acquired much more subtly than by "welcome" or "ready borrowing". To indicate that Dr. Parsons probably means what she says, let us quote elsewhere:⁵⁴ "In hispanicization what was imposed by the European was altered to fit old habits and emotional attitudes. What was voluntarily taken over was what was not incompatible with such habits or attitudes."⁵⁵ Now even though a modification and alteration of intruding (and intruded upon) traits are distinctive features of acculturation, it is rather clear that an intellectual volition plays little part in the process beyond the rather special instances noted above.⁵⁶ Dr. Parsons is perhaps driven to some such manipulations by her concept of acculturation, which is concerned with⁵⁷ "...what the Indian culture took from the Spanish rather than with assimilation which is a reciprocal process and would include consideration of what the early Spaniard took from the Indian in the development of both Spaniard and Indian into the modern Mexico." But this strangely emasculated notion leaves us a meagre hypothesis upon which to try the very complex processes of interaction and reciprocal adjustment which have traditionally been the province of acculturation, and are in a sense the materia of Dr. Parson's own study. An acculturated

⁵⁴Op.cit. p.536

⁵⁵Italics are mine.

⁵⁶In regard to Africa, for example.

⁵⁷Op.cit. pp.xii,xiii

Indian people as distinguished from "...the development of both Spanish and Indian into the modern Mexican" has all the substance of the Cheshire cat's grin.

Long before sociologists began marking out spheres of influence as neatly concentric ecological areas, Lewis H. Morgan was making a statement of the dynamic quality of the intrusion of the West which is tersely insightful:⁵⁸

Civilization is aggressive...a positive state of society, attacking every obstacle, overwhelming every lesser agency, and searching out and filling up every crevice, both in the moral and physical world; while Indian life is an unarmed condition, a negative state....The institutions of the red man fix him to the soil with a fragile and precarious tenure..."

It was perhaps more than any one thing this "precarious tenure" which made the early Indian vulnerable to his foe, which soon required him to depend upon his foe. The new economic motives compromised the Indian's self-sufficiency, required him to develop new techniques to fill newly induced needs and placed the opening wedge which was to permit the first body of accretions. These were, of course, principally in the guise of material culture traits.

It is interesting that these influences which first succeeded in making inroads, and have been most thoroughly absorbed into the Cherokee way of life are utterly useful ones. The gun, metal in the forms of various tools, clothing, a

⁵⁸Morgan, Lewis H. League of the Iroquois. vol.II, p.108

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sedentary way of life growing out of an agricultural economy, all are traits whose adoption could have been predicted with the utmost certainty. Of these several traits, however, only sedentarism holds the seeds which would require further modification of the organization of life.

In adopting the gun, the Indian became dependent on Western technology, and simultaneously his own technology in the parallel field began to degenerate. In acquiring farming tools, and turning to a more sedentary economy, he became dependent upon the soil in a new and more direct fashion than ever before, and in that dependence many subtle changes were to be wrought in his way of life. All this lay in the implications, but not necessarily in the content of the initial changes.

Much ado has been made over the importance of the prestige of the white man in inducing adoptions of his cultural goods by the Indians. This fact has probably been greatly over-rated, for there is every indication that the Indians were fairly discriminating in their deference, although, to be sure, they were guilty of errors of judgment. Perhaps the only culture changes which can be attributed to something like white prestige were those in the realm of devices of decoration such as the loss of the roach, tattooing, and the like. It is apparent that we can speak of "prestige" as a factor only in its relation to specific patterns.

For Thurnwald acculturation starts out to be a learning

process.⁵⁹ This, it seems, is a suggestive psychological conceptualization, if we include under "learning process" unlearning, forgetting, confusions, and "unconscious" learning. Shortly we find him speaking of selection, rejection, and transformation, all as processes.⁶⁰ The trend toward adoption goes through three stages, roughly: a preliminary withdrawal from the unaccustomed, a period of imitation, and finally a period of identification in which we find the primitive people "devouring" the civilizatory equipment.⁶¹

Such a metaphorical exercise does not in final judgment appear to be psychological at all. To be sure, "learning" can not be dispensed with in acculturation any more than it can in events of less scope, but Thurnwald's discussion gives us a more illuminated understanding neither of acculturation nor of learning.

In the body of the paper we have noted that the dislocations of the frontier life had a very specific influence on the acculturative process in that they shook aboriginal ways. Violent epidemics had a similar effect, but we discover that shortly the Indian culture elaborates a rationalization to protect itself. A smallpox epidemic which causes medicine men to throw away their charms in resignation, is rationalized later as being the direct machinations of the whites. Conse-

⁵⁹Thurnwald, Richard C. "Psychology of Acculturation" Am. Anth. vol. XXXIV p.558

⁶⁰Op.cit. pp.564-66

⁶¹Op.cit. p.563

quently we must emphasize the point that there is no neat unilineality in acculturation as a process, but that an event which on one occasion would contribute to the breakdown of Indian mores, on another occasion might account for an extremely conservative movement, and even a regression.

The patterns of acculturation are, as we have pointed out in several instances, never uniform throughout the group.

Margaret Mead supports this contention:⁶²

...upon the Antler reservation there are no such alignments between old and new, such as those between one generation and another, pagan and Christian... Indian speaking and non-Indian speaking....The impact of white civilization has been so prolonged, so badly and sporadically organized, from the standpoint of the missionizing and acculturating agencies, that there has been no consistent Antler response to white influence....There are grandmothers who have worn Paris gowns and granddaughters who have never worn anything except the drab school uniform.⁶³...There are men of sixty with long hair who have been to New York and boys of twenty who can drive long automobiles, but who speak no English. There is a grandfather skeptic and a son who fears most actively the old religious societies.

The situation among the Cherokee is not so formidably confused as appears to be the case among the "Antlers". To be sure, there are individuals who are strange storehouses of cultural contradictions, but by and large it is possible to isolate groups on the criteria of blood, linguistic habit, and geographical situation who would come close to representing

⁶² Mead, Margaret. The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe. p.206

⁶³ Of course, calico is quite as acculturated as Paris gowns.

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"stages" if we should be inclined to view acculturation as a system of succession.

From this approach we shortly find that it is not necessary to trace the adoption or loss of each individual trait as a process of succession, but we discover that survivals occur in and through gestalten. The criteria, blood, language, and geography, which we found could satisfactorily isolate culture groups, compose a gestalt which is apparently quite stable and significant. What other writers might call a "resistance to change" is exemplified in the psychological intactness of form such as myth and medicine which seem invulnerable to items from a different psychological space.

Particularly vigorous culture traits also act as cores around which constellations of accessory and appurtenant traits array themselves. We noted, for instance, the effectiveness of the ball-play in preserving in a relatively ancient form a number of ritualistic and ceremonial practices which in other connections had degenerated badly. The Syllabary similarly is an example of this principle. An elaborate gestalt of traits will survive much longer because of the vigour of the salient core around which they are organized.

Traits do not survive in isolation in any case. Always there must be a role, and a role as a part of a larger system, but the relatively isolated trait, the trait bereft of its central core will fade rapidly.

There are certain gross dangers involved in Wissler's theory

of "contagion" which is expressed as follows:⁶⁴

And there is a strong case for the universality of diffusion; in fact, a trait of culture is about as contagious as the measles. Once a tribal group brings out a new trait, its neighbors seem to get it too, and then their neighbors, and so on, for there are not wanting indications that the contagion is involuntary, or beyond the power of the group to prevent. Anyway, traits do spread outward, as we have shown in a previous chapter, for dropping a new trait into a tribal culture, like a pebble on the smooth surface of a pool, sends outward circle after circle.

The fact is that in our observations such ideal diffusions occur neither in linear, temporal, or cultural space. As Dr. Ellwood has trenchantly enough remarked, "Any theory of the contagion of culture must have as its corollary an hypothesis of cultural immunity." Diffusion by contiguity occurs often enough, but the neat concentric bands relate only a part of the story. The cultural pool is not smooth, and traits do not have the atomistic quality of pebbles. At least, such are the findings of this study.

It may be worth noting parenthetically that acculturation may be quite opportunistic in its operation. Not only is it possible for native and Western traits to form functioning systems, but traits show a capacity of high miscibility in regard to details. Steel rivets on ball sticks may seem aesthetically incongruous; they are also mechanically adequate. Western dance influences show no marked incompatibility with

⁶⁴Wissler, Clark. Man and Culture. pp.102,103

the native forms. However, a note of caution should be sounded. These changes which we have chosen to identify under the category of 'The Culture-confusion Complex' probably indicate that the self-sufficiency and, anthropomorphically, the self-confidence of a system has broken down. Related to this if not identical with it are the remnant survivals, traits bereft of their original meaning and function, and other traits which are only vestiges of their ancient form and function.

But the decline of cultures and culture traits is not a process that moves constantly in one direction. Enough has been said to make it obvious that the pace of acculturation varies from time to time, and from place to place within any given culture. Moreover, the factor of refertilization in which a survival characteristic of a given spatial, blood, or culture area gives off 'spore-formations' which result in a renaissance of the trait in other sections. Under especially favorable circumstances we might find a culture thus recreating sizeable bodies of its archaic manifestations.

Finally, there is the body of manipulative influences and their consequences which we have treated in considerable detail above under the topics of the frontier, government, and reservation. They are peculiar because they are self-conscious influences on the part of the acculturating agent, not conscious indeed of the ramifications and implications of the pressures involved, but conscious of certain ends to be desired. They are also peculiar because those ends have never proved to be

constant, and the Indians have been required to elaborate adjustments to problems which suddenly proved to be no problems at all, just as science has wasted itself, not infrequently, on problems which never existed.

Summary

Summarily, we have seen that the satisfactory basis for comparative study on any large scale is still denied to the field of acculturation, and it seems likely that generalizations can be made only for a limited culture, and only with considerable reservation. Factors which always will be influences to be considered, however, are the following: concentration of population; degree of 'structuring' of the political and culture systems of the group; "precarious tenure"; refertilization; the vigour of cores of culture gestalten.

At Cherokee we have found the following factors to be significant in making for cultural intrusions and changes: the progressive dilution of Indian blood; the actual intrusion of a white population; the pattern of manipulation exemplified by the frontier and the reservation; the general superiority of white technology; the uncertain prestige of white ways; and the change to a sedentary way of life.

We have found that various traits have been assimilated in varying degrees. Some have been completely assimilated, either as substitutes, addenda, or new functioning units, such as:

Metal in the forms of weapon and tool, clothing, sedentary way of life, political organization, beads and other decorating device, Sunday and time measurements. Language represents a special type. Its partial adoption is almost immediate; its ultimate complete absorption is inevitable; and it increases in use by infiltration and displacement. The missionary motif embodies traits which have encountered most direct cultural or social resistances, but have made some inroads, such as Methodist and Baptist sects, and white medicine. The Culture-confusion Complex comprises sports of modification and cultural admixture, such as: glass arrow heads, Western dance intrusions, modified Western music, rivets on ball sticks, translated and retranslated names.

The most significant factors making for survivals have been the following: blood isolation and inbreeding; the mutual reinforcement of aboriginal blood and aboriginal culture; more recently, the economic and social premium placed on Indian traits and identity; and a tendency to refertilize from areas of traditionalism.

Some traits have been completely lost or have been displaced such as: clothing, feather work, the roach, bi-furcate red-white social organization, matri-locality, clan blood revenge, certain dance forms, such as the war dance, and games such as chung-ku and women's football. There are certain remnant survivals which involve the persistence of traits bereft of their original meaning and function in the culture complex, such as: clan names persisting as place or personal names,

and the emasculated structure of clan organization with its accompanying exogamic law, gaktunta (taboo system), and the like. Other traits only partially or vestigially retain their original use, such as: the bow and blow-gun, and the Gadugh (cooperative society). Special skills and information are dependent on experts for their preservation. The body of mythological and medical lore which is the peculiar province of a few specialists and is rapidly fading as the last "old men" pass typifies this.

But there are still traits which survive in their essential function and aboriginal form in the practice of the more conservative population of the community. Examples of these are: the fairly elaborate and varied, although somewhat regressive, dance forms and their appurtenances, masks, rattles, drums; certain material culture traits, such as basketry; and language.

Appendix I

QUALLA BOUNDARY CHEROKEE INDIAN RESERVATION N.C.

Scale in Miles

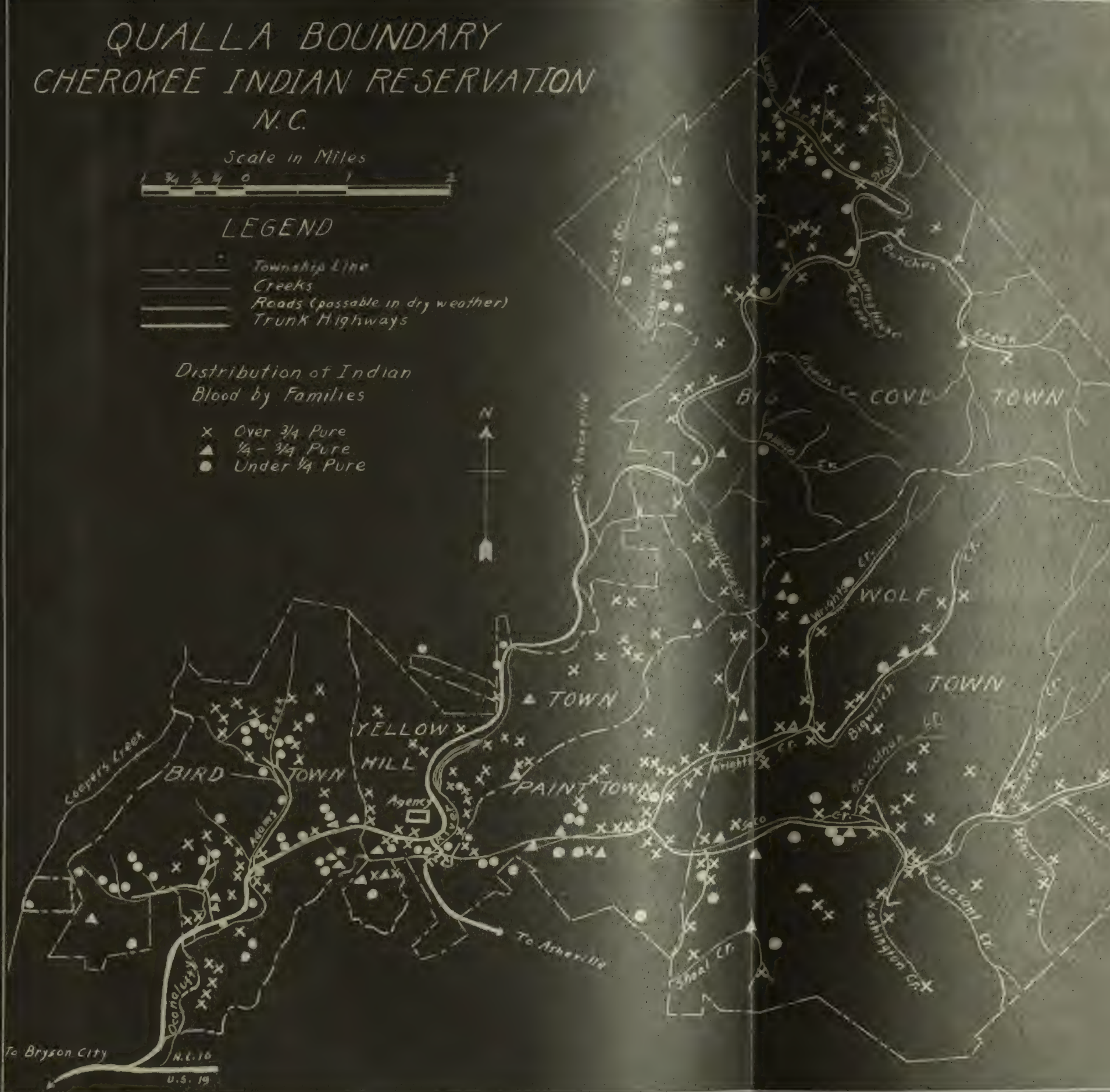


LEGEND

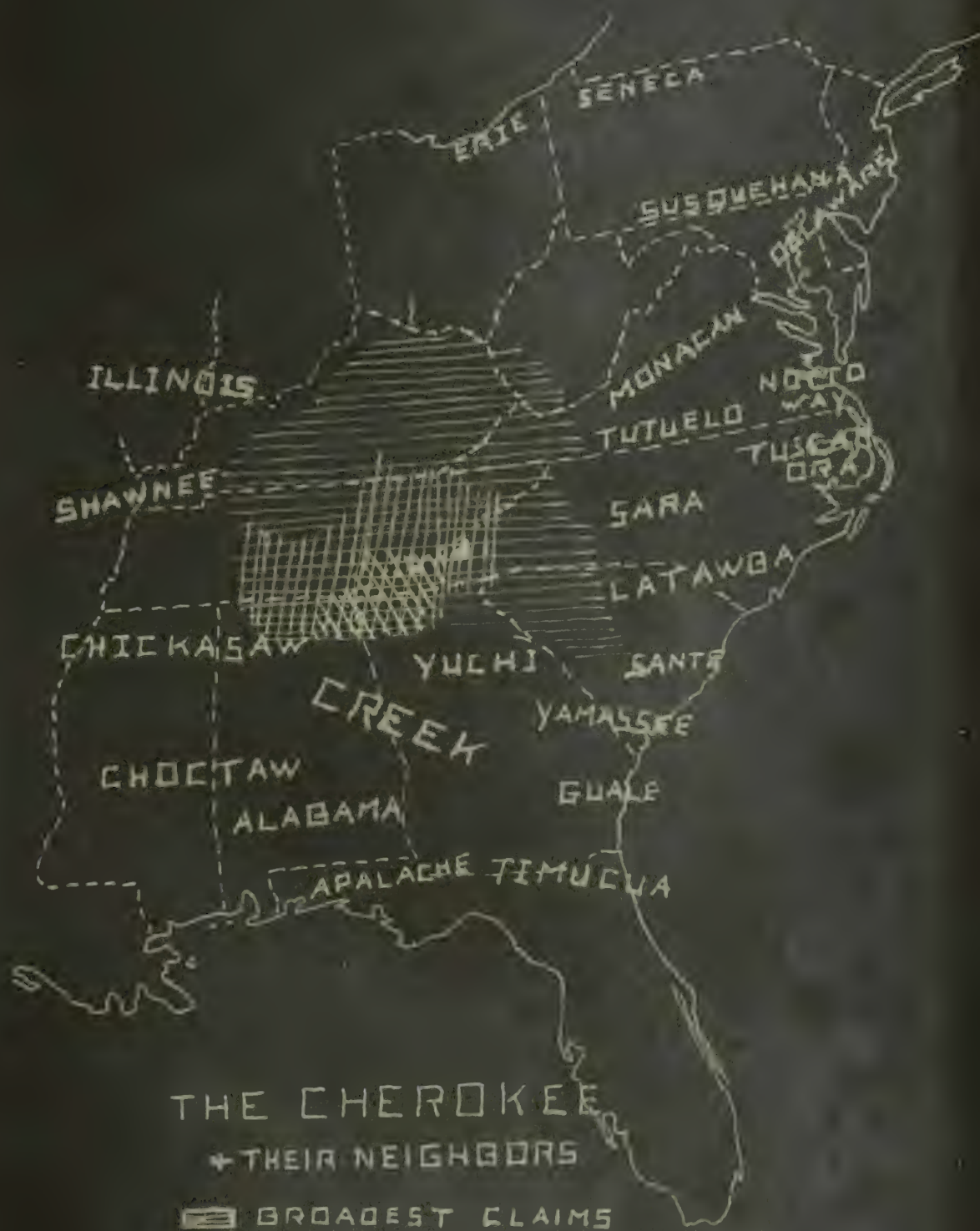
- Township Line
- Creeks
- Roads (passable in dry weather)
- Trunk Highways

Distribution of Indian Blood by Families





- Over 3/4 Pure
- 1/4 - 3/4 Pure
- Under 1/4 Pure



To Bryson City
N.C. 19
U.S. 19



THE CHEROKEE
 + THEIR NEIGHBORS

-  BROADEST CLAIMS
-  BOUNDARY 1783
-  " 1836
-  QUALLA 1937

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APPENDIX: [Appendix]

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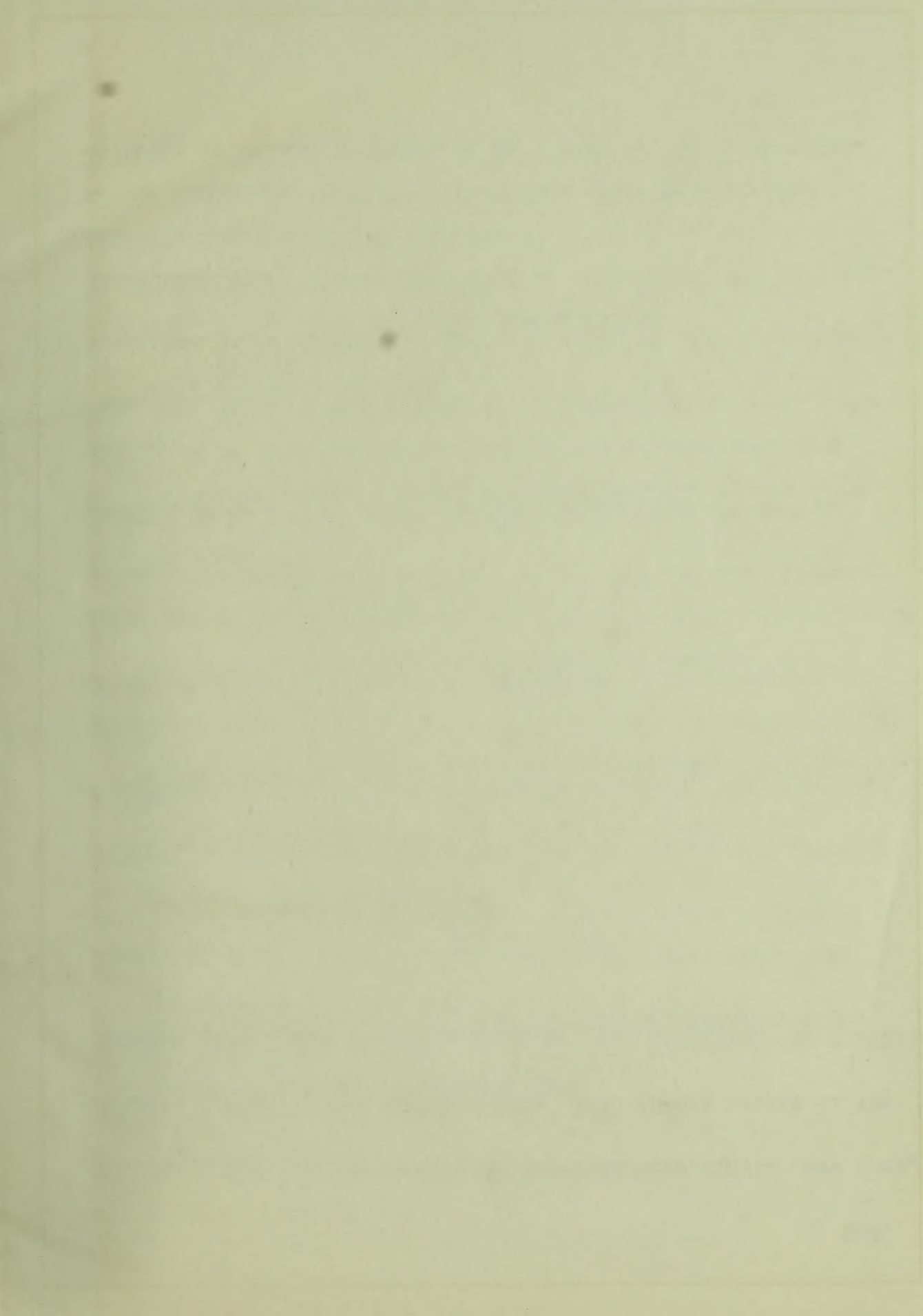
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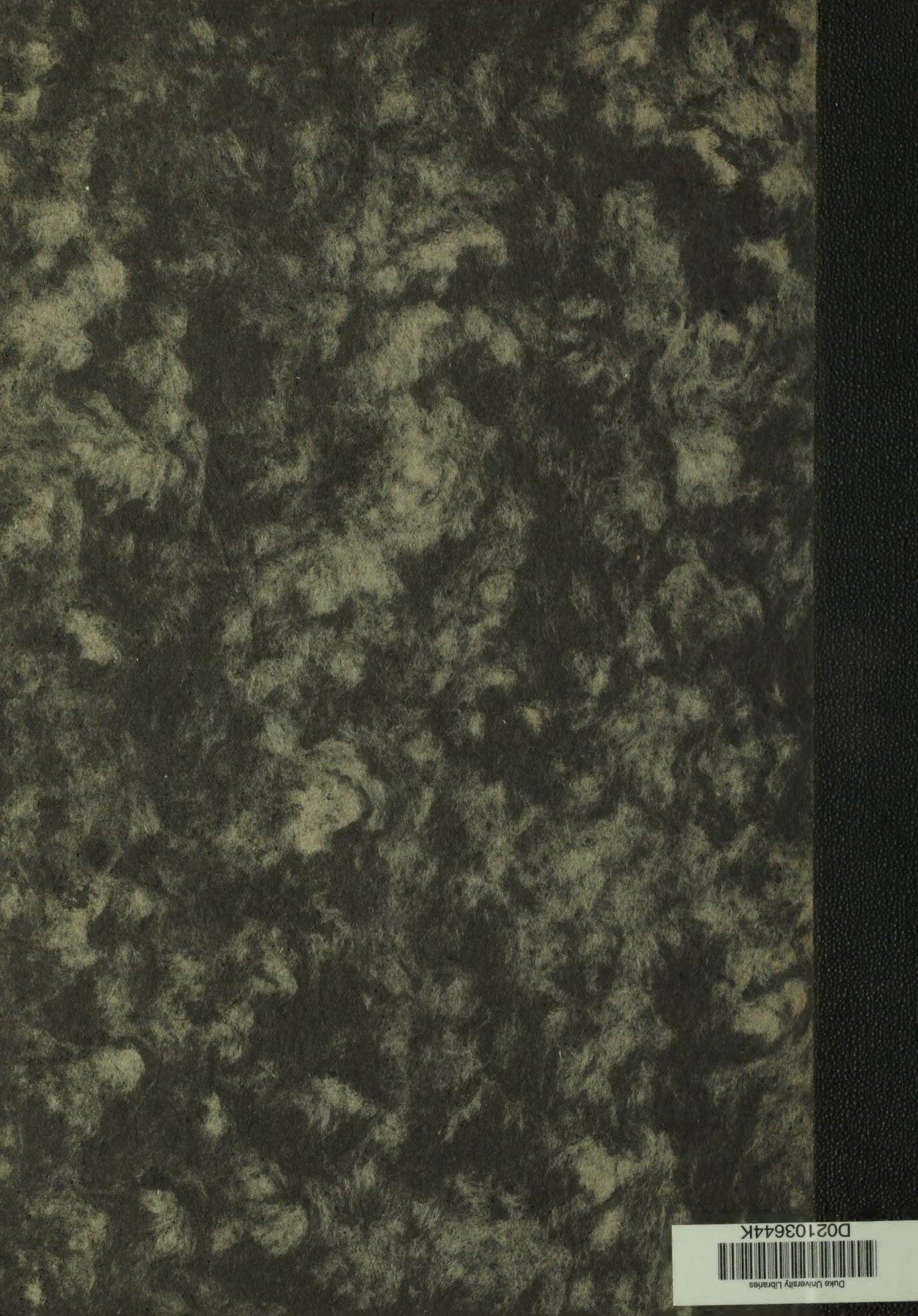
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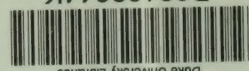
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